

Pre-season hooliganism bodes ill

BRITISH soccer began the run up to the season overhanging with hooliganism. A North Sea ferry from Harwich to the Hook of Holland had to return to Harwich when fighting and brawling broke out among drunken soccer spectators going to the Continent to watch pre-season friendlies by Manchester United and West Ham United. There were more incidents between police and the Manchester United fans after their team played a friendly against Ajax in Amsterdam. Three people were stabbed and several others injured and the lives of holidaymakers made a misery as the hooligans rioted and fought about the boat.

The brawling has dashed hopes of an early return for English clubs to European club competitions, from which they were barred for three years following the tragedy in Brussels during the European Cup final between Liverpool and Juventus. Ted Croker, secretary of the Football Association, said that he was bitterly disappointed and disgusted by the incident which set back the reputation of English clubs in Europe.

Worse, in a sense, was to follow on the pitch when the Scottish season opened at the weekend. Glasgow Rangers saw their new manager, Graeme Souness, sent off against Hibernian after aiming a kick against a Hibernian player, McCuskey, who was carried off with an injured knee. Nine other

By our own Reporter

players were booked when a brawl took place among most of the players. Rangers lost 2-1 to add misery to their day, especially after they had spent so much money in the pre-season building a new squad. Souness later apologised for his conduct but it will be difficult for him to recover credibility.

The Home Office minister, Mr Giles Shaw, rejected calls to introduce corporal punishment for soccer hooligans in response to the incidents.

Mr John Carlisle, the Conservative MP for Luton North and the chairman of the Tory backbench sports committee, said that the only way to deal with hooliganism was a "good and sound bashing" and a long stiff sentence in a miserable prison.

Echoed by other rightwing backbench Conservatives including Mr Peter Bruvels (Leicester East) and Mr Terry Dicks (Hayes and Harlington), Mr Carlisle said: "We have a lot to learn from the Middle East in this respect, and the Saudi Arabians in particular, where prisons are for punishment and not for rehabilitation. We need merciless, eye-for-an-eye punishment for retribution."

A spokesman for UEFA, the European football governing body, said that next month's meeting in Prague, might consider new sanctions on English clubs.

Cricket County Table

	P	W	L	T	BI	PI
Gloucestershire (3)	16	9	4	3	40	81
Essex (4)	16	7	4	5	37	81
Surrey (5)	17	8	6	3	36	54
Leicestershire (10)	17	6	4	8	41	81
Hampshire (2)	16	6	4	6	38	50
Yorkshire (11)	16	4	16	50	46	188
Nottinghamshire (3)	16	4	2	10	44	53
Worcestershire (5)	17	4	5	8	42	50
Kent (9)	16	4	4	8	32	53
Nottinghamshire (10)	16	4	2	10	40	46
Derbyshire (12)	16	4	2	10	40	46
Lancashire (14)	17	3	3	11	35	46
Somerset (17)	16	3	2	11	41	32
Sussex (7)	17	3	7	7	30	40
Warwickshire (10)	17	3	12	38	43	113
Middlesex (11)	17	3	9	7	28	27
Glamorgan (12)	17	1	5	11	31	34

1986 positions in brackets.

Botham shows why he can't be ignored

IAN BOTHAM strode back on to cricket's centre stage last week after his two months' ban for smoking cannabis with two mighty flourishes of the bat that must have made the England team, floundering against New Zealand, ache for his presence. He could be back for the third and final Test and can hardly be excluded from the tour of Australia in the winter, for in his enforced absence no one else has made a durable stake for the England all-rounder role or for the middle order batting.

His return to first-class county championship cricket came for Somerset against Worcestershire and there was an air of inevitability that he would make a century. And so it came to pass — in only 64 minutes and off 65 balls, with seven sixes and nine fours. All the shots were there with beefy magnificence, especially the lofted straight drives. It wasn't the highest score in the match — Botham's teammates, Roebuck, hit 147 in the second innings, his highest ever score — and his bowling still has some way to go, but it was enough to satisfy the cricketing nation that he was back and winning, for Somerset took the match by five wickets.

Having announced that he was back he then fell victim of a stomach bug for the following match, but had recovered in time for Somerset's match at Northamptonshire in the Sunday League. The occasion was eventually washed out by rain without a result but not before the crowd at Wallingborough School had seen one of the greatest innings ever in limited-over cricket.

But for an interruption for rain, which cost him an over, he could well have surpassed the competition's record knock of 176 by Graham Gooch. As it was he hit 175 not out of Somerset's 272 for five, hitting a competition record 16 sixes on the way, as well as 12 fours. It was the highest innings by a Somerset player in limited-over cricket and was by common consent anything but a carefree Sunday slog. It was worked from humble beginnings against an en-

MOTOR RACING: Maurice Hamilton in Budapest on the new Hungarian Grand Prix

Piquet's slick charge threatens Mansell

AN estimated 200,000 spectators at the Hungarian Grand Prix on Sunday witnessed Hungary's historic first world championship grand prix, and they will remember it as Nelson Piquet's race.

However, as the teams head across the border into Austria for the 12th round of the series this Sunday, the more far-reaching consequence of the second victory in succession for the Williams driver is that he moves into third place in the championship and now has his team mate Nigel Mansell in his sights as the season reaches three-quarters distance.

Mansell, never in contention on Sunday because of tyre problems, finished third, one lap behind a race-long battle between Piquet and Ayrton Senna's Lotus-Re-

Senna started from pole position and led the first 11 laps before Piquet moved ahead. The low overtake speed of the new circuit 12 miles north-east of Budapest meant that, unlike most races this year, fuel consumption would not be a deciding factor, and Piquet's Honda engine thus did not have its usual edge. But the Brazilian more than made up for it with consistent, aggressive driving.

Tyre wear was less than expected in a race lasting two hours and run in temperatures exceeding 90 deg F. Piquet, the first of the leaders to stop, came in just under

thrustful attack with their tail up after dismantling Viv Richards cheaply.

Not until he was 60 did he launch Harper's off-spin over long on for his first six, but thereafter he was murderous. He reached his 100 in 87 balls, the second 50 in 26 with only another 29 to the 160. One mighty six cleared a line of

Alan Dunn's DIARY

trees beyond the boundary, a road fringing the ground and a factory wall on the other side of the road.

The irony of the occasion was that the rains came and the match was declared a no result with both sides taking two points. Through the combination of bad weather and contrived finishes elsewhere this was enough to send Northamptonshire to the top of the league with 36 points, two better than Essex.

Somerset, by the way, have held an inquiry into an incident of racial abuse during the match against Worcestershire, when Viv Richards, the West Indian captain, strode into the crowd to identify a spectator making abusive comments. Somerset said that they would take a stronger line over evicting and barring racist agitators and drunks from matches and to advise players not to become involved because of the risk of personal injury.

If it was the week of the big comeback it also saw the rise of yet

Lendl takes his revenge

Martin Jones reports: Ivan Lendl extended his unbeaten record on hard courts to 16 on Sunday when he defeated Boris Becker 6-4, 7-6 in the final of the Volvo International at Stretton Mountain in Vermont.

The World Champion had struggled to find his form all week, but against Becker he came up with just what was needed to quell the West German youngster's firestorm and take a measure of revenge for his Wimbledon final defeat. However, the main talking point

among the 11,000 crowd was still the semi-final confrontation between Becker and McEnroe.

McEnroe, playing superbly for a player in his first week back on the circuit, unexpectedly held four match points, only to fall 3-6, 7-6, 7-6.

At one stage McEnroe was heard to shout at Becker: "Someone should teach you a lesson in respect." Apparently the American was unhappy with the way his opponent shows emotion when hitting a spectacular winner.

Brilliant Tway

BOB TWAY, with a burst of barely credible brilliance, won the US PGA Championship at Inverness, Toledo, on Monday. By holing a bunker shot for a birdie at the last he snatched a title, his first major, that for 67 holes had seemed destined for Greg Norman.

Tway, who was constantly in trouble on the final two holes, produced two magical shots to recover, finishing with an eight-under-par total of 278, two ahead of Norman who finished with a five-over-par 283.

The way Tway played the 18th seemed designed to ensure that the championship went to Norman. He hit a dreadful too-shot which buried itself in deep rough on the right. A watching Jack Nicklaus

observed that Tway would find it almost impossible to hit the green from where he was, and eventually the American did well to get his ball into a bunker 10 yards short of the pin. With Norman in a good position on the fairway it seemed likely that the Australian, who had lost a four-stroke lead during the course of the round, would in fact win his second major title inside a month. Even when Tway had to play a shot which demanded extraordinary delicacy.

But from the moment he hit it the shot was obviously a good one, and when it trickled into the hole bedlam broke out.

In fact, Tway had brought off another near miracle shot, also at the 17th. Again he had pushed the ball this time to the right of the hole and it was impossible to see his ball even from a yard away. The odds were heavily on Tway either leaving the ball in the rough or sculling it across the green. Instead he managed to get it out to two feet to save his par.

Norman, though, really could only blame himself for being in a position to lose the championship. He had started four ahead of Tway and, as he said later, it came down to a form of match play between them.

Mike Baldwin was third on his team. Robert Yamahe, after a race-long battle with Lawson's team-mate Rob McElnea,

Team Robert Yamahe, after a race-long battle with Lawson's team-mate Rob McElnea,

THE GUARDIAN

WEEKLY

Vol. 135 No. 8 Week ending August 24, 1986

Russia extends test freeze

Mr Gorbachev is extending the Soviet Union's year-old moratorium on nuclear testing till the end of 1986. In a television broadcast the Soviet leader challenged President Reagan, now enjoying a six-week holiday on his California ranch, to sign a treaty banning all nuclear testing if and when they meet later this year. The State Department and White House spokesmen immediately rejected any comparable American moratorium, describing Mr Gorbachev's offer as "propaganda."

Time to respond positively to Gorbachev

IF there has been an argument in the Kremlin about whether to continue the unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing, then it has been won for the time being by those who remember the truism that the purpose of a deterrent is to deter. It is a truism from which the United States has gone off on its own Star Wars tangent, and one which the British government consistently overlooks in its pursuit of the Trident programme.

Before Mr Gorbachev announced his moratorium a year ago, with subsequent extensions even though there was no reciprocity from the United States, he did so after a brisk series of tests had satisfied the military that their weaponry was in working order. One purpose in testing is to take a sample from the stockpile to ensure that it has not for some reason degraded. But suppose it has? How is the other side to know? Each superpower has to assume that enough of its adversary's arsenal is operational to deter it from making a first strike. That there may be an element of uncertainty in the case of a few missiles makes no difference to a calculation of the risk.

Mr Gorbachev can thus afford to pile on to the United States (and Britain and France) the odium which is increasingly attached to nuclear testing. The Congress is more aware than the White House of the damage which testing — and not only testing, but the threat to introduce a new generation of chemical weapons and the fixation with Star Wars — does to the US bargaining position. Last week the House of Represen-

tatives voted by 265 to 152 to restrict all these favoured Presidential and Pentagon projects in what the arms control lobby in the House described as the most significant breakthrough in 12 years. Mr Reagan sees it otherwise. At the weekend he accused the House of giving Moscow what it had failed to pay for at Geneva. Since the House vote was not binding he can expect a different language to emerge from a joint Senate-House conference on the arms budget next month. But the damage has already been done. On the matters on its agenda last week the House agreed with Gorbachev and not with Reagan.

One reason for this is that random sample testing is no longer the main reason for the underground explosions in Nevada. If it

Report, page 6

were, the US could rely on the same principle of deterrence (ie, the principle of uncertainty) which Gorbachev must have deployed against the importuning of his military. The Star Wars programme itself has a nuclear component in that the particle-beam weapons are nuclear-powered. In addition the United States is due to upgrade, by 1989, the C-4 Trident missile with the longer-range and more advanced D-5, for which a new warhead will be needed.

It would be rash to put words into Mr Gorbachev's mouth or thoughts into his head. But whereas his predecessors (and he himself, more sotto voce) have insisted that the Soviet Union will never permit Ameri-

can superiority but will always maintain parity, Gorbachev must know that neither side can conquer the other, however much it adds to the stockpile. Uncertainty about the scale on which a nuclear state could respond to attack is the main ingredient of deterrence and it is that which makes the British Trident programme so extravagantly superfluous. The existing Polaris fleet can in theory attack 64 targets simultaneously, with a high probability of penetration resulting from the Chevaline refinements built in. If one-tenth of the missiles got through, the major Soviet cities would be devastated. What need is there of deterrence beyond that threat of inconceivable destruction? And so Gorbachev must reason about the 3,000-odd launchers in his possession.

To say that Gorbachev has scored a propaganda victory is to belittle the thought that has gone into the test moratorium. And indeed into the whole technological predicament. Challenger and Cheraobyl, he said on Monday, show we have not yet passed the technological test. Gorbachev is the first leader on either side to recognise the fatality of trying to add to a virtually infinite capacity for destruction. He is making no sacrifice. If he were he would soon be out of office. He is answering the American call for "deeds, not words" in an effective manner, and is entitled to ask the Americans — as the House of Representatives has recognised — to respond likewise. The time may come when he is overborne by his own military lobby, but the logic of his present position will still remain intact.

Getting at the truth

The British Government is trying to prevent publication of a book about the secret service, M15. In an attempt to prevent Sir Robert Armstrong (left), head of the civil service, having to answer awkward questions on oath in a New South Wales court, the Government last week admitted for court purposes that the allegations contained in it were true, including the claim that the late Sir Roger Hollis (right), head of M15, had been a Soviet spy. But law officers were at pains to make it clear that the Government did not admit the truth of the allegations except for Court purposes. (Full report, page 4).



Sir Robert Armstrong, head of the civil service.



The late Sir Roger Hollis.

Only making things worse

THOSE who predicted trouble on the 39th anniversary of Pakistan's independence have been proved right. The arrest in Karachi under a 30-day detention order of Benazir Bhutto for defying a ban on political meetings became tediously predictable as soon as the government restricted her to the city, banned rallies and rounded up hundreds of her supporters earlier in the week in an attempt to defuse rising tension. In the light of these preparatory moves by the authorities there need be no speculation about an individual police commander acting in an excess of zeal while General Zia ul-Haq was away on a pilgrimage to Mecca. A confrontation became only a matter of time, and not much of it, after the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy, the uneasy opposition alliance, got its act together at the beginning of the month.

The MRD delivered an ultimatum to General Zia to announce a democratic election by September 20 and to hold it by the end of the year. The "or else" — that he would have to contend with a "peaceful democratic movement" — sounds weak but was the best that such an organisation could do. The significance of the demand lay in the fact that it was endorsed by the largest and most important component of the MRD, the Pakistan People's Party led by Miss Bhutto. She was not at the meeting which led to it, adding to the suspicion of other MRD elements that she was not committed to the alliance, and she had been pushing for an autumn election ever since her return to the country in April. But she accepted the later deadline by telephone and the Movement became at a stroke something that had to be taken more seriously than hitherto. Before the crucial MRD meeting in Lahore, which was also a scene of unrest last week, the PPP had stood alone in its call for early elections.

With the entire political spectrum from religious conservatives to leftist revolutionaries united behind the campaign for an election within five months, the generals and the fundamentalist mullahs who support Zia are faced with a sharper dilemma than at any time since the fall of Miss Bhutto's father nine years ago. But the nature of the dilemma is essentially the same as it has been throughout Pakistan's history: how viability as a modern state is to be reconciled with the ideal which led to its foundation as a secular Muslim democracy. There is also a dilemma for Washington as

Continued on page 10

INSIDE

- Climbera die on K2.....5, 10
- All clear for the Contras..... 8
- Corruption — Soviet and US style..... 9
- Getting late to save S. Africa.....15
- Geoffrey Taylor in Littondale.....19

Recipe for SA disaster

Joe Slovo's strategy for Socialist change in South Africa (August 17) is a recipe for disaster for the South African proletariat.

Slovo sees a natural link between national liberation and social emancipation, but nevertheless draws a distinction between the two. The significance of this becomes clearer when he suggests that with the end of apartheid: a mixed economy, including non-monopoly private enterprise will prevail. From thence, apparently, we will attain a state of affairs propitious to socialism. Slovo, then, advocates a "staged" approach to the question of socialism in South Africa.

To arrive at such a conclusion necessitates the existence of at least a progressive wing of the bourgeoisie. But the search for a progressive bourgeois in South Africa is the utmost folly as the black South African masses realised long ago.

Lenin, whom Slovo is fond of quoting, never tired of laying the blame on the class collaborationist approach and was consistent in opposing a united democratic front, with the total exclusion of all sections of the bourgeoisie, in the nefarious idea of "popular frontism". What would he think of Slovo's and the South

African Communist Party's support for a "popular front" in South Africa today?

If the black workers' movement in South Africa is held back by attempts to limit itself to a "national democratic" stage, and if the expropriation of the bourgeoisie is not completed, then the stage will be set for a bloody counter-revolution. In the event of this, the South African Communist Party must bear full responsibility.

Mark Underwood,
Falkett Road,
Weyton-on-Thames, Surrey.

Danger on the move

Two years ago in the wake of the Mont Louis disaster Sealink, then owned by British Rail, benned the transport of uranium hexafluoride. One might assume that the transport of this nuclear material by cross Channel ferries had ceased. Unfortunately this is not the case. The Dieppe-Newhaven route is now French operated and uranium hexafluoride is once more being carried.

Three Tuesdays out of five the Condor transport firm bring shipments of uranium hexafluoride from the French enrichment plant at

"The definition of independence is that countries be able to choose forms of government which their neighbours object to... Few Congressmen have dared to take a stand on the basic issue of whether the United States has the right to interfere in a far away country's internal affairs."

You are talking about Nicaragua (Leader, July 6) but doesn't this also apply to South Africa?

Wm S. Chichester,
Tucson,
AZ 85704.

Pierrelatte in the Rhone valley which are delivered to British Nuclear Fuels works at Springfields, near Preston.

The lorry and its nuclear cargo have been seen to travel upon either the passenger ferry Chantilly or the freight-only Marie Evangeline.

Although Dieppe-Newhaven ferries are now French-operated, passengers travelling on them will have booked their tickets in the UK via Sealink who advertises the service in their brochures and timetables.

Two years ago Sealink gave assurances that they would not transport nuclear cargoes. Will they now confirm those assurances and that they will now be extending them to cover services where they are acting as agents?

Gregory Taylor,
Green Party Council,
Saltdean, Brighton.

Liverpool libelled

According to all other media reports the violence on the Harwich-Hook of Holland ferry occurred when so-called supporters of Manchester United and West Ham United clashed, yet your Leader (August 17) clearly implies that supporters of Liverpool and Everton were involved. Is it the intention of the Guardian to implicate Merseyside whenever and wherever football violence occurs?

F. Septon,
Chairman, Liverpool FC Supporters Club,
(London Branch),
London NW1.

Attacking racism in all its forms

As an admirer of your reporter Hugo Young, and no admirer of Mrs Thatcher, I must none the less take issue with Mr Young's suggestion (July 20) that it is patronising of Mrs Thatcher to annoy police states by referring to their censorship, detention without trial, and racism.

Mrs Thatcher's strictures against some Commonwealth and other countries make good sense. Malaysia's laws are blatantly racist. Bangladesh suffers an open military dictatorship. In Pakistan — like South Africa — a former Commonwealth member — it is a capital crime to offend the mullahs.

Not that any of this excuses Mrs Thatcher's de facto support for the Pretoria regime. South Africa is a racist police state and for various reasons there is a large measure of agreement to put the boot into it. Its supporters and opponents are being counted.

For the world, the defeat of tyranny in South Africa would serve as a spur for similar pressure on other racist and/or police states (including those to which Mrs Thatcher was obviously referring).

Testing time for the West, trying time for Moscow

Your Leader (August 17) was right to hold that the East-West arms talks really matter. But the article was gratuitously dismissive of the nuclear test explosions issue.

Though the discussions "have a potentially unlimited agenda, they will need to cut it down to what is immediately practicable (thereby probably excluding underground tests, on which the US is adamant)," the editorial says.

Yet only a few days earlier the House of Representatives voted by almost two to one for a 12-month moratorium on the underground explosion. It seems to many of us that a comprehensive test ban is the most definite and the least complicated of all the issues coming before the negotiators.

The previous argument that such tests could not be verified has been completely disposed of, as the American scientists now in Soviet Russia are showing. If the Western tests continue it is likely that the East will resume them. However, Mr Gorbachev has said he will consider extending their moratorium if Washington endorses the ban.

The people of the three nations involved, America, Britain and Russia, have overwhelmingly indicated their wish for agreement on this issue. Only the political will at the top is missing. Frank Alloun, Manchester.

Your Leader on the Moscow arms control talks makes a number of fair points, but does not

The soldiers' crime

You report (August 10) that 11 Gurkhas, all members of the 7th Duke of Edinburgh Rifles were dismissed from the British Army and sent back to Nepal. For what crime? For failing to cooperate with their CO in refusing to name guilty colleagues. But since when has it become a crime under British law not to cooperate with the prosecution?

No, this was not the reason, the soldiers' crime was of a far more serious nature. They had bonded together, when their loyalty should have been to the officers, the cornerstone of Imperialism.

Yet by contrast, the second cornerstone of imperialism is the

underline the essential one: The path President Reagan appears to be set on — to judge by the leaks of his latest letter to Mikhail Gorbachev — cannot lead to a new summit.

To put it bluntly, suggestions that the President has made a great compromise on disarmament are sheer lies. Rather, it is still pursuing the same old goal of securing strategic superiority.

For example, if Washington really wants strategic stability, it would have to do far more to stop the arms race spreading into space. Its readiness to observe the ABM treaty for only another seven years only covers the time it needs anyway to switch over from research to the deployment of attack space systems.

A serious approach to cutting offensive weaponry means banning all attack space weapons and, as a transitional stage, strictly abiding by the ABM treaty for at least another 15 to 20 years.

Furthermore, the US President is ignoring all demands to halt nuclear testing and join the unilateral Soviet moratorium. This blocks another route to slowing down the arms race and moving towards nuclear disarmament.

All this makes claims that the "bill is now in Moscow's court" ridiculous, the "bill" — humanity's future — remains where it was, awaiting the serious consideration of the US President.

Spartak Beglur,
Novosti Press Agency,
4 Zuhovskiy Boulevard,
Moscow.

Villagers bar test drillers

HUNDREDS of families from three villages in different counties on Monday prevented contractors from starting test drilling for the dumping of nuclear waste by the Nuclear Industry Radioactive Waste Executive, Nirex.

Nirex is expected to seek an injunction to gain access to the sites at Killingholme on Humberside, Eilatow in Bedfordshire, and Fulbeck in Lincolnshire. Drilling is planned to begin at a fourth site, at Bradwell in Essex, in two weeks' time.

James Wood,
Bracknell, Berks.

FOREIGN EXCHANGES

	Starting Rate August 16	Previous Closing Rate
Australia	2,384-2,390	2,382-2,405
Austria	21.37-21.38	21.70-21.74
Belgium	33.77-34.31	33.70-33.90
Canada	2,071-2,080	2,073-2,073
Denmark	11.88-11.90	12.05-11.90
France	19.54-19.55	19.51-19.52
Germany	3.05-3.09	3.07-3.09
Hong Kong	11.85-11.88	11.53-11.55
Ireland	1,125-1,135	1,125-1,129
Italy	2,184-2,194	2,117-2,121
Japan	229.77-230.16	228.00-230.00
Netherlands	3.47-3.48	3.46-3.47
Norway	10.94-10.95	10.95-10.96
Portugal	215.24-217.98	217.35-219.02
Spain	198.55-199.84	199.84-203.20
Sweden	10.33-10.35	10.34-10.35
Switzerland	2,480-2,489	2,482-2,489
USA	1,480-1,483	1,480-1,480
ECU	1,487-1,495	1,489-1,487

FT 30 Share Index 1273.8 Gold \$377.78

Freedom of information act wanted

By David Rose

TWO-THIRDS of voters favour a Freedom of Information Act, according to an opinion poll released on Monday, the 75th anniversary of the passage of the "catch all" section two of the Official Secrets Act.

The poll, carried out by MORI for the Campaign for the Freedom of Information, sampled 1,909 voters in 172 constituencies between July 4 and 9. It found that 85 per cent supported the introduction of an information bill, subject to adequate safeguards for national security, crime and personal privacy. Twenty-three per cent were opposed and 11 per cent expressed no opinion.

Only 25 per cent of Conservative voters opposed the proposal, with 69 per cent in favour, and higher proportional support across party lines among men and young people.

At a press conference called to launch the poll Mr Des Wilson, the campaign chairman, said that the poll demonstrated an overwhelming consensus against section two, which had been repeatedly shown to be unworkable.

He cited the cases of the former civil servants Mr Clive Ponting and Ms Sarah Tiedall, both of whom were present. The Government had admitted that neither had leaked information damaging to national security, and it could be surmised that their prosecutions in 1984 had been undertaken only for reasons of embarrassment; but this in turn had caused further political disaffection.

The current case of Mr Peter Wright whose allegations concerning illegal activity by MI6 were admitted to be true in an Australian court last week — but which the Guardian has been prevented from repeating — were only the latest example of the many abuses and evils of official secrecy, Mr Wilson said. People could now read Mr Wright's disclosures anywhere in the world but Britain. (Report, page 4.)

Villagers bar test drillers

HUNDREDS of families from three villages in different counties on Monday prevented contractors from starting test drilling for the dumping of nuclear waste by the Nuclear Industry Radioactive Waste Executive, Nirex.

Nirex is expected to seek an injunction to gain access to the sites at Killingholme on Humberside, Eilatow in Bedfordshire, and Fulbeck in Lincolnshire. Drilling is planned to begin at a fourth site, at Bradwell in Essex, in two weeks' time.

	Starting Rate August 16	Previous Closing Rate
Australia	2,384-2,390	2,382-2,405
Austria	21.37-21.38	21.70-21.74
Belgium	33.77-34.31	33.70-33.90
Canada	2,071-2,080	2,073-2,073
Denmark	11.88-11.90	12.05-11.90
France	19.54-19.55	19.51-19.52
Germany	3.05-3.09	3.07-3.09
Hong Kong	11.85-11.88	11.53-11.55
Ireland	1,125-1,135	1,125-1,129
Italy	2,184-2,194	2,117-2,121
Japan	229.77-230.16	228.00-230.00
Netherlands	3.47-3.48	3.46-3.47
Norway	10.94-10.95	10.95-10.96
Portugal	215.24-217.98	217.35-219.02
Spain	198.55-199.84	199.84-203.20
Sweden	10.33-10.35	10.34-10.35
Switzerland	2,480-2,489	2,482-2,489
USA	1,480-1,483	1,480-1,480
ECU	1,487-1,495	1,489-1,487

FT 30 Share Index 1273.8 Gold \$377.78

Up and up go the dole queues

The week in Britain by James Lewis

IN the 1983 general election campaign the Prime Minister, Mrs Thatcher, persuaded the electorate that she needed another term in office to beat inflation and bring down unemployment by creating "real" jobs. Inflation — down last month to 2.4 per cent, the lowest since 1967 — is all but beaten, but unemployment jumped by another 50,000 to reach a record July figure of 3.2 million.

After taking into account the 125,000 jobless school-leavers who are not entitled to claim benefit, and another 50,000 excluded by various statistical changes, the total unemployed is 96,000 greater than it was a year ago, after what is supposed to have been a period of economic growth. Even Ministers no longer hold out any prospect of improvement. The Chancellor, Mr Nigel Lawson, actually expects unemployment to go on rising because of what he euphemistically calls "the pause".

While Mr Lawson implies that the "pause" is the prelude to resumed economic growth, the City talks of deflation and an impending recession. Tory Party managers decided that the answer was to give the Prime Minister a "softer image", so Mrs Thatcher was pictured walking a dog along a holiday beach in Cornwall, where the Government last month invested £15 million — apparently with the encouragement.

While Government action has undoubtedly reduced the high rate of inflation which the Conservatives inherited in 1979, the most recent falls have been to factors — such as seasonal drops in food prices and lower petrol prices — for which Ministers can claim no credit. Earnings, however, continue to rise at an underlying 7.5 per cent, which suggests that next year's inflation rate will be at least 3.5 per cent.

Disaffection over Mrs Thatcher's economic policies does not guarantee an election victory for Labour, which is engaged, as ever, in fratricidal conflict. At next month's Trades Union Congress, and at the Labour Party conference which follows it, the party leader, Mr Neil Kinnock, is likely to be at odds with, and could be defeated by, some of the big unions over the crucial issue of strike ballots.

Mr Kinnock wants a future Labour government to uphold the legal right of workers to have secret ballots before they can be called out on strike by their unions. This right, conferred by the hated "Tebbit law" of 1984, has undoubtedly curbed the power of union leaders and reduced the number of strikes, but some of the big left-dominated unions are mobilising to sweep away what they see as "anti-union" law and could well deny Mr Kinnock his wish to approach an election year with peaceful and uncontroversial conferences to demonstrate the closeness of Labour's partnership with the unions.

For the first time, Labour is making a determined pitch for the "Green" vote — about three million strong — with an environmental programme to encourage organic farming (which would employ a larger rural workforce) and to squeeze the incomes of rich farmers by transferring resources from price support to protecting the environment and helping poorer farmers. At the moment, however, Labour does not hold a single rural parliamentary seat in England, and would need a sizeable electoral swing in its favour to win one because most of the politically active Greens support the Ecology Party or the Liberal/SDP Alliance.

The sea eagles breed again

By Gareth Parry

A PAIR of white-tailed sea eagles which produced a chick for the first time last year, have bred two more, the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds said last week.

The birds, which first attempted to breed in 1983, have been guarded round-the-clock by RSPB wardens at a secret site in the west of Scotland.

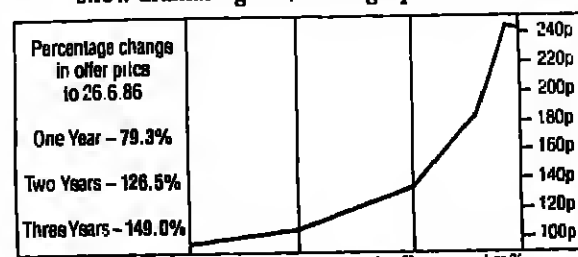
Sheep farmers suspecting the sea eagle of killing lambs, used to shoot, trap and poison the birds, but contemporary studies indicate that the sea eagle, like its cousin the golden eagle, only rarely attacks sheep.

It can achieve an eight-foot wing span and hunts small to medium-size animals, mostly birds and fish, although it also eats carrion.

The sea eagle has been reintroduced to Scotland by the Nature Conservancy Council. The project began in 1976, and over a 10-year period the RAF flew 82 eagles from Norway to Scotland, where they were released into the wild on the island of Rhum.

Still worth investing in Europe? Why we say: Yes!

Over the past three years, the Jersey-based Tyndall European Fund Limited has been a very rewarding investment. Our knowledge and expertise has enabled the Fund to show dramatic gains, as the graph shows.



Now we believe this expertise to be more necessary than ever.

Markets in continental Europe are more volatile than they have been for several years. Some indeed have shown substantial falls, whilst others have continued to rise strongly. Such a situation could leave the unwary investor at risk. However Tyndall's European portfolio managers are able to take advantage of these situations by anticipating market trends.

We liquidate holdings where necessary and increase investment where growth continues. We believe that the experience gained as managers of one of the longest established European funds should ensure that the Tyndall European Fund Limited will continue to be a sound long-term investment and presents investors with an ideal opportunity to participate in the continued growth of the continental European economies.

Learn of our views on the potential of all continental European markets by reading our Investment Review. We'll send you a copy free, together with details of the Tyndall European Fund Limited if you return the coupon below. Or phone Jersey (0534) 37331.

To: Tyndall Guardian Managers (Jersey) Limited,
Depts GW 24/3, 2 New Street, St. Helier, Jersey, Channel Islands.
Please send me details of Tyndall European Fund Limited, and a free copy of your Investment Review.

Name _____ Address _____

I am interested in income distributed ☐ Reinvested ☐

TYNDALL EUROPEAN FUND LIMITED

THE GUARDIAN WEEKLY

August 24, 1986

Vol. 135 No. 8

Copyright © 1986 by Guardian Publications Ltd., 118 Farringdon Road, London, England. All rights reserved. Letters to the Editor and other editorial correspondence to: The Guardian Weekly, PO Box 10, Cheshire, Cheshire, CH1 10D, England.
Subscription enquiries to the Circulation Manager, The Guardian Weekly, 164 Deansgate, Manchester, M60 2RN, England.
Advertisement enquiries to the Advertisement Manager, The Guardian Weekly, 118 Farringdon Road, London, England.

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION RATES PAYABLE IN ADVANCE
United Kingdom, Eire £28.00
AIR EDITION: Europe £32.00; Middle East, North Africa £32.50;
Americas, Africa (except North), Asia, Malaysia, Indonesia £35.50;
Australia, Far East, Pacific £36.50.

Let us send a Gift Subscription to your friend — and a Gift Card with your best wishes.
To: Circulation Manager, The Guardian Weekly,
164 Deansgate, Manchester M60 2RN, England.
Please mail this Guardian Weekly for one year to:

Name _____
Address _____
Subscription ordered by _____
Address if name above _____
Enclose payment of £ _____
Include all Visa Access, MasterCard, and American Express cards may have
subscriptions charged to their accounts.
Please debit my Visa Access MasterCard/American Express
Account No. _____
Cardholder's Signature _____
Card Expiry Date _____

'Truth' and consequences about MI5

By Richard V. Hall in Sydney and John Carvel in London

THE British Government, in its efforts to prevent the publication in Australia of the memoirs of a former MI5 officer, admitted last week that the serious allegations of criminality he makes against the security service are true.

The New South Wales Supreme Court heard that, "for the purpose of these proceedings and not otherwise," the British Government accepted that claims by Mr Peter Wright in a book that Heinrich Mann Australia is seeking to publish, and claims by another former MI5 officer, Mr Cuthbert Massie, on a television programme shown in Australia, were accurate. These include the claim that the late Sir Roger Hollis, former head of MI5, was a Soviet spy.

However, the British Government's new officers in London insisted later that "except for the limited procedural purposes of this case, the Government does not admit the truth of any of the allegations in Mr Wright's book relating to the activities or personnel of the security services. In particular, the Government's position in relation to the late Sir Roger Hollis remains as stated by the Prime Minister in her statement in the House of Commons on March 26, 1981." Mrs Thatcher then told MPs that an inquiry had concluded that Sir Roger had not been an agent of the Russian intelligence service, although this was impossible to prove.

The extraordinary concession made at a pre-trial hearing in Sydney about whether the British Government should answer certain interrogatories (147 written ques-

tions from the defendants) means that when the full trial takes place in November the Cabinet Secretary, Sir Robert Armstrong, chief witness for the Government, will seek to establish that in the public interest the book should not be published, even though all its contents can be assumed by the Court to be true.

Mr Malcolm Turnbull, who represented Heinrich Mann Australia at the hearing, said: "This is nothing more than a cynical exercise in manipulation. Sir Robert apparently believes that even though MI5 officers do commit crimes, the public should be told the contrary and the courts support him in his deceitful work."

Notwithstanding the British Government's claims that MI5 defends the free world, this philosophy would be more at home in the committee rooms of an Eastern European Communist state. If the emperor has no clothes, the public have a right to know.

He added after the hearing: "Now they're saying 'We admit he's got no clothes, but you're not entitled to say so'."

The judge, Mr Justice Powell, a former member of the Australian security service, awarded the costs arising from the interrogatories against the British Government. At the previous day's hearing the judge had intervened to suggest "with great respect" that the major point in the British Government's case "seems to be so unreal". To suggest that Moscow Centre would be helped by knowing that MI5 and MI6 had relations with the

CIA and that there had been trouble with J. Edgar Hoover was utterly unreal. Earlier, the judge said that it was known that the British security services had leaked like a sieve for years.

The questions put to the British Government were specifically about allegations contained in Mr Wright's book. Once the court insisted that they be answered the Government was in the position of knowing that Sir Robert Armstrong and Mr Wright would be questioned in detail and under oath about claims that MI5 took part in criminal acts.

By admitting, in the context of this action, that everything Mr Wright says is true, this embarrassing situation will be avoided.

MP gives details of charges

By Alan Travis

ON July 21 a Labour MP claimed that the Prime Minister and the Government believed it was "right to break the law" and were involved in a "cover-up" over the activities of MI5.

Mr Dale Campbell-Savours (Labour, Workington) outlined in the Commons some of the allegations that the Guardian and Observer have been restrained from publishing by a High Court injunction. He based his allegations on the memoirs of Mr Peter Wright, a former MI5 agent, which were broadcast in June on two Australian radio stations.

Under the protection of parliamentary privilege, Mr Campbell-Savours listed detailed allegations made by the former officer in the book whose publication the Government is seeking to ban.

These accuse MI5 officers of attempting to bug the West German and French embassies in London; placing microphones behind cyphering machines in the Greek and Indonesian embassies; bugging

diplomatic conferences at Lancaster House, including the Zimbabwe independence negotiations in 1978; entering Russian consulates abroad; plotting against Harold Wilson during his 1974-76 premiership and diverting resources to investigate leftwing groups in Britain instead of setting its own house in order.

Mr Campbell-Savours said that Mr Wright is also believed to have alleged details of a plot to assassinate President Nasser during the Suez crisis. He also alleges that MI5 was involved in testing poison on sheep; switching numberplates on vehicles in this country; bugging Nikita Khrushchev's suite at Claridge's Hotel during his 1950s visit and opening of diplomatic bags.

"That is law-breaking in Britain. We now see our Government engaged in a cover-up. The Prime Minister does not believe in policies of law and order. She believes it is right for the state to break the law," said Mr Campbell-Savours.

But it does throw doubt over the likely success of the attempt to stop publication.

Mr Theo Simos, for the British Government, had argued in Sydney: "The relevant public interest which we seek to protect is the Australian public interest, and it is that it must be ensured that MI5 is leakproof. The detriment flows from the result of showing that MI5 is not leakproof."

"Whether MI5 is leakproof or not is independent of the character of the leak. If friendly security services see MI5 as not leakproof they will refuse to exchange confidential information as they will know that MI5 cannot maintain its confidentiality."

The Government has also made strenuous efforts to prevent any mention of Mr Wright's allegations. It won an injunction against the daily Guardian and the Observer preventing either paper from stating the Wright allegations, even if they had been published before. Only after a Court challenge by the newspapers were they given permission to report proceedings in the open court in Australia.

The Court of Appeal has upheld the injunction, permitting only reporting of such Australian court proceedings, anything said in the Houses of Parliament, and quotation from one book about the security service which attributes some information to Mr Wright.

The British prefer freedom to riches

BRITISH people are nothing like as interested in getting rich as the Japanese or the Americans, according to a survey carried out by Gallup Poll for London Weekend Television.

Only 9 per cent of Britons said that their main aim in life was to get rich, whereas 38 per cent gave this answer in Japan and 15 per cent in the US.

The great majority of respondents in the British survey said that their main aim in life was "to live as I like" (77 per cent). "To get rich" came in second place only just ahead of "to work on behalf of society" (8 per cent).

In terms of money the main concern of British people was just to have "enough money to be free of financial worries" (61 per cent) rather than to have "plenty of spare money in the bank" (15 per cent) or "a great deal of money" (only 2 per cent).

The people interviewed for the survey had a remarkably low opinion of those who were rich, finding them more likely to be educated and ambitious than other people, but also more ruthless (by 57 to 5

By Martin Linton

per cent), enoblish (52-4), greedy (56-3), and less rather than more likely to be generous (40-12), caring (38-6), honest (37-4), and slightly less likely to be hard-working (32-22).

The last charge was strenuously denied by the rich themselves who said that to become rich they had to work "a lot harder" (50 per cent) or a "bit harder" (48 per cent), though a majority of them conceded that they had not had to sacrifice family life (79 per cent), sacrifice time with friends (71 per cent) or even give up leisure activities (51 per cent).

The public at large considered the rich to be more rather than less likely than other people to try to avoid their taxes (80-5). But, curiously, they thought they would be less rather than more likely to succeed (42-14). If someone had started with almost nothing and become very rich, however, they were more likely to believe he had "something to hide" (49 per cent) than that he was "above board and honest" (35 per cent).

The main reasons why people became rich in Britain were considered to be inheritance (36 per cent), hard work (24), exceptional ability (17), or "by exploiting others" (9). The same question produced rather different answers in Japan, where they put inheritance at 51 per cent, ability at 20, and hard work at 12. In the US, they put hard work top at 43 per cent, inheritance at 20, and ability at 13.

The role of the rich was seen quite differently in the three countries. In the UK, 34 per cent thought the rich "live a life of leisure", and 94 per cent believed they "support the British heritage by maintaining stately homes and buying works of art." 29 per cent thought they "create jobs and prosperity" and 26 per cent thought they "exploit others".

In the US, 39 per cent thought they helped the economy by creating jobs and only 19 per cent thought they exploited others. In Japan, 69 per cent thought the rich lived a life of leisure and only 12 per cent thought they helped the economy.

Leading climbers perish on K2

By Martin Wainwright

SIX climbers, including two Britons, froze and starved to death on K2, the world's second-highest peak, after being trapped in a blizzard for more than a week, according to a survivor at the weekend.

Kurt Diemberger, an Austrian mountaineer and film maker, said in the town of Skardu, in Pakistan, that two Austrians, two Britons and two Poles died in early August on the 28,250ft mountain. Mr Diemberger and a fellow Austrian, Willi Bauer, were the only survivors from the eight mountaineers trapped in a makeshift camp near the summit of K2, he said. Both suffered frostbite.

The two Britons who died were Mrs Julie Tullis, aged 47, and Mr Alan Rouse, aged 35, a British Himalayan expert. Several of the climbers, of whom Mrs Tullis is known to be one, had already

succeeded in reaching the summit of K2.

The eight climbers belonged to Austrian, British and Polish expeditions, who were climbing or had scaled K2. Italian and South Korean expeditions were also assaulting the peak in the far north of Pakistan, near the Chinese and Indian borders.

The eight were near each other and close to the summit when a huge blizzard hit on August 7. They took refuge in a camp to wait out the storm, said Mr Diemberger. However, when the storm lasted for more than a week the mountaineers ran out of food and became progressively sicker from the cold and altitude.

Five people died in the camp — Mrs Tullis and Mr Rouse; Austrian Hannes Wieser, aged 30, and Alfred Imtizer, aged 43; and Wojten Wroz, of Poland.

Mr Diemberger, Mr Bauer and a second Polish climber, Miss Dobrosawa Miodowicz, managed to get out after about seven days and start down the mountain. Mr Diemberger said he lost saw Miss Miodowicz at about 19,800 feet. Austrian diplomats said that another Austrian climber, Michael Messner, aged 25, was still listed as missing.

Mr Diemberger and Mr Bauer managed to reach a base camp at the bottom of K2, where they were looked after by South Korean mountaineers until a Pakistani military helicopter airlifted them to Skardu.

Mr Rouse of Nether Edge, Sheffield, had been on 15 Himalayan expeditions. His girlfriend, Ms Deborah Sweeney, is expecting their first child on August 25, the day he was due to return home. When told of Mr Rouse's death she

said: "I am proud to be having Alan's baby. It has given me strength at this time."

K2, which Mr Rouse tackled unsuccessfully three years ago, was to have been his last big climb. After returning from the Himalayas he planned to settle in Sheffield and operate an adventure travel company.

His party left for the Himalayas on May 1, arriving at base camp three weeks later. The party of first attempted one of K2's two unclimbed ridges, but were forced by bad weather to switch to one of the four ridges already climbed.

Mrs Tullis's husband, Terry, a climbing instructor from Tunbridge Wells, said that a telegram from the Foreign Office had confirmed his worst fears. "But I am so proud that she got to the summit. That is what she wanted and what she worked for," he said.

ATTENTION BRITISH CITIZENS LIVING ABROAD

1	BROWN (Andrew Brown, of 6 Orchard Grove, Maidstone, Kent)	DON'T BE X
2	SMITH (John Phillip Smith, of 21A Highfield Road, Enfield, Middlesex EN6 2DR)	
3	JONES (Albert David Jones, of 11 Charlton Court, London NW1)	

If you were registered as an elector in the UK within the last 5 years you can now vote in UK parliamentary and European Parliamentary elections.

Your vote will be cast in the constituency in which you were last registered before leaving the UK.

In order to qualify you will have to fill in a declaration form and return it by 10th October 1986 (15th September if you were previously resident in Northern Ireland).

Forms and an explanatory leaflet are available from your nearest diplomatic or consular post.

PLEASE LET OTHER BRITISH CITIZENS KNOW THAT THEY MAY ALSO BE ELIGIBLE TO VOTE IN THE UK.

Political embarrassment at the heart of Whitehall fears

GOVERNMENT Communications Headquarters (GCHQ) cooperated with the US National Security Agency, its partner in signals intelligence, in illegal eavesdropping on the communication of civil rights and anti Vietnam war activists.

The project, code-named Minaret, involved the use of two listening posts, one at Menwith Hill, near Harrogate in Yorkshire — now under direct NSA control — and the other at Morwenston, Cornwall, part of GCHQ's network. Under the scheme, US domestic communications intercepted by these stations were relayed to Fort Meade, the NSA headquarters in Maryland.

The idea, Mr Nigel West says in a book on GCHQ just published, was to avoid breaking the US Federal Communications Act by using stations based in Britain to pick up American domestic traffic. The project was later abandoned in the wake of the Watergate investigations and inquiries by Congress into illegal intelligence operations.

Minaret was an extension of an earlier operation, code-named Shamrock, whereby the NSA secretly obtained copies of overseas communications. Though this was also in breach of US law, American intelligence agencies assured the companies involved, such as ITT, RCA and Western Union, that there was no chance of prosecution.

The Minaret plan was authorised by the White House in 1967 — just as Parliament in Britain was getting excited about a revelation in the Daily Express by Mr Chapman Pincher that copies of overseas cable traffic were regularly handed over to British intelligence. The practice, Whitehall advised privately, was allowed under British law, specifically under section 4 of the 1920 Official Secrets Act.

Mr West's book is the second this year to reveal that GCHQ operates

clandestine stations in Africa, including one at the British embassy in Pretoria and one at the High Commission in Lusaka. This takes on added significance in the light of a recent disclosure in the New York Times that the US, working closely with GCHQ, has provided the South African government with information about the operations and leadership of the African National Congress.

These incidents illustrate the close relationship between GCHQ and the NSA, strained only during the Suez crisis. But the description of the Minaret episode by Mr West (alias Rupert Allason, prospective Tory candidate for Torbay and son of a former Conservative MP) is particularly timely in the light of CND's complaint to the High Court about MI5 telephone taps, the Government's attempt to prevent the Guardian and the Observer from publishing allegations made by Mr Peter Wright, a former senior MI5 officer, of unlawful acts by the security service, and demands by MPs that the British intelligence services should be more accountable and subject to tighter controls.

It is timely also in the light of concern expressed privately in the case of Cathy Massie, a former MI5 officer, publicly by a small but apparently increasing number of officials in the intelligence community about the lack of safeguards.

MI5 reportedly has the capacity to hold basic computer data on about 20 million people. Developments in electronic and computer technology have given GCHQ the ability to eavesdrop on communications indiscriminately. The only safeguard in the official's own conscience. It is up to him to decide whether to throw away tapes of private conversations between innocent citizens or groups rather than passing them on to MI5 or Whitehall.

Present and former officials say

that the present political atmosphere and the use of the intelligence services for political ends (the use, for example, of MI5 by the Ministry of Defence to get information on CND) make these voluntary safeguards worthless.

But crude political interference works both ways. It is now being said that the intelligence services are under pressure to provide the Government only with the information that it wants to hear. It is not a new phenomenon, however. GCHQ and MI6 were quick to inform the Wilson government about the war in Rhodesia broke sanctions in the 1980s. The government said it did not want to know and told the agencies to concentrate their attention elsewhere.

When asked recently by the Commons Treasury and Civil Service committees whether Watergate would have emerged in Britain,

By Richard Norton-Taylor

Sir Robert Armstrong, the Cabinet Secretary, replied: "Yes, it would, and much, much quicker." Official ask how, given Sir Robert's strict code covering the duties and loyalties of officials and the absence of any code of ethics covering their behaviour.

While the Government is trying to prevent the publication of Mr Wright's memoirs in Australia by suing him for breach of confidence, it has obtained a civil injunction temporarily preventing publication of a book by a former GCHQ employee, Mr Jack Kena, a former radio supervisor at CCHQ, says that his book is being suppressed in an attempt to cover up security lapses rather than protect classified information. According to reports in the American press, other revelations relate only to what the spy, Geoffrey Prime, revealed to the Russians.

The Government, which is desperately worried that the Aus-

trian courts will take a more relaxed attitude towards the Wright memoirs than British courts, failed to prevent Mr Gordon Welchman, one of the brilliant mathematicians who worked during the war for the Government Code and Cypher School — the forerunner of GCHQ — from publishing in the US an account of how enemy codes were broken. Sir Peter Marychurch, the director of GCHQ, told Mr Welchman that his initiative could cause "direct damage to security", a charge dismissed as absurd in a letter to the Guardian by one of Welchman's wartime colleagues, Sir Stuart Milner-Barry.

The argument of both Sir Robert Armstrong and Sir Peter Marychurch is one of principle rather than substance. They say that if Welchman, Wright, and Kane get away with it, other former intelligence officers may be encouraged to follow suit (as has happened in the US).

The argument about substance is based on the alleged fear that potential enemies will gain valuable information. Yet as West and other authors have made clear, spies like Geoffrey Prime at GCHQ and a long list of others in the US have already passed on much more valuable information to the Russians, including details of sophisticated spy satellites systems, than any former employee of the intelligence services has published or threatens to publish.

What does worry the Government is the threat of former intelligence agents publicly expressing concern about improper conduct or unlawful acts and corroborating politically embarrassing information disclosed by informed outsiders. Normally, the Government's policy is to maintain a discreet silence and avoid drawing attention to disclosures (a policy it may regret not having adopted in the Peter Wright case). For example, it quietly ignored a

book published last year (See You In November, by Peter Stiff) which says that MI5 plotted to kill Colonel Cadafy in 1970. The author, who lives in South Africa, describes the book as a true account given to him by a former SAS and Rhodesian intelligence officer, code-named Taffy.

The plan, according to the book, was to free political prisoners in Tripoli prison and attack Cadafy in his Tripoli residence. But the attack was foiled not the last moment by the CIA — this was at the time the US decided that although Gannafy was anti-West, he was also anti-Soviet. There could be somebody worse running Libya, the US argued.

The Government argues that the exposure given to the intelligence services — which have a combined annual budget estimated at about £1,000 million and a total manpower of about 10,000 — is not only helpful to foreign powers but is also a threat to the morale and effectiveness of organisations carrying out legitimate activities in the national interest.

But it is increasingly edgy because it also fears that the disclosure of politically embarrassing or controversial operations will lead to a growing number of MPs, including Conservatives, wondering why the British intelligence community should not be subject to the same democratic oversight as their counterparts in the US and other Commonwealth countries such as Australia. Former intelligence officers are interviewed in the debate, saying that if the morale is damaged by disclosure, it is equally threatened by bad management and by the lack of safeguards against political abuse by Government.

GCHQ, The Secret Wireless War, 1900-1936, by Nigel West, Weidenfeld and Nicholson, £12.95. See You In November, by Peter Stiff, Galago Books, £15.95.

THE WEEK

THE Soviet Politburo halted three controversial river diversion projects and approved a scheme for private cooperatives to provide consumer goods and services. The said that work was to stop on two schemes to divert northern and Siberian rivers to the arid south after strong protests, particularly by some of the nation's leading writers. Further study was needed, it said.

Construction of a national memorial to the second world war in Moscow, which has drawn strong objections, is also to stop. A national competition should be held to get another design for the memorial, the Politburo said.

POLITICAL fall-out from the Chernobyl accident claimed more victims last week when six senior members of the Soviet nuclear hierarchy were either thrown out of the Communist Party or severely reprimanded for their "errors" at the time of the disaster. Three government ministers have already been sacked.

A POWERFUL car bomb killed 20 people and wounded nearly 100 in Christian East Beirut last week. The seventh car bomb in three weeks, it brought the death toll from these and smaller explosions to 107, with about 550 wounded.

DR JOAQUIN BALAGUER, aged 70, has been sworn in as President of the Dominican Republic for the fifth time. The conservative Dr Balaguer, elected in May thanks largely to divisions among his leftwing opponents, warned that he would crush "anarchy" during his four-year term.

The United States, which organised his election as President a year after fleeing the Caribbean state in 1965 to snuff out a leftwing uprising, was represented by Secretary of State George Shultz. But Mr Shultz assumed efforts to get him to talk with the Nicaraguan President, Mr Daniel Ortega, who was also present.

NUCLEAR experts representing 82 members of the International Atomic Energy Agency last week concluded three weeks of intense negotiations with a broad agreement on early notification and mutual assistance after nuclear accidents which could herald a major breakthrough in international law covering nuclear safety. The agreement will have to be ratified by a full meeting of IAEA's 117 members next month.

THE US Senate Judiciary Committee last week approved the nominations of William Rehnquist as US Chief Justice and Antonin Scalia to be a Supreme Court

Justice, sending both to the full Senate for final action. The Republican-controlled committee voted 15-5 in favour of Justice Rehnquist and 18-0 for Justice Scalia.

PRESIDENT REAGAN, renewing America's commitment to manned space exploration, said last week he was ordering construction of a fourth shuttle to replace the ill-fated Challenger. At the same time, Mr Reagan said commercial satellite launches would be phased out when the shuttle resumes operations in early 1988.

THE White House at the weekend welcomed a tax package, agreed by Senate and House of Representatives negotiations, which edges his dream of tax reform closer to reality. Congress will vote on the agreement, which came after tough bargaining, next month. The most sweeping overhaul of the tax system since the second world war, the measure would affect the finances of almost every family and business in the US.

COLLECTORS in New York paid a total of around \$850,000 for various items once owned by the deposed Philippines' President Ferdinand Marcos and his wife, Imelda.

THE Israeli authorities last week ordered the closure of two leftwing Arabic newspapers, the daily Al-Milhaq and the weekly Al-Ahd, published in east Jerusalem, on the grounds that they disseminated the views of radical Palestinian guerrilla organisations.

SPAIN granted official status to the Palestine Liberation Organisation mission in Madrid, a move seen by diplomats as intended to balance its opening of diplomatic relations with Israel and to enhance its role in the Middle East.

INDIA'S Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, vowed to wage a relentless war against terrorism and separatism as India celebrated its 38th independence day amid tight security measures across the country. Addressing the country from the Red Fort in Delhi, Mr Gandhi declared he "would finish terrorism in a few months".

There are reports that the Government is considering a series of new anti-terrorism laws which would give the police and security forces sweeping powers to smash extremist organisations.

FOUR members of a racist terrorist organisation, SOS France, were killed when their car was blown up by their own bomb in the French Mediterranean port of Toulon. Among the dead was the Claude Noble, a former candidate of the extreme right National Front, which has 33 members in Parliament elected on an anti-immigrant campaign.

IRAN claimed Iraq used facilities of neighbouring countries in last week's air raid on the Iranian Gili island oil terminal in the Gulf. Iran claimed two Iraqi planes were shot down.

THE South African Government has published the names of 8,501 detainees being held without trial under the state of emergency. The names were released to the South African parliament on 171 pages of foolscap paper which gave no details of the detainees' addresses or the regions where they were held.

60 dead as rebels shoot down plane

By Nick Czar and agencies in Khartoum

SUDANESE rebels have reaffirmed their determination to shoot down all planes flying over southern Sudan and claimed responsibility for shooting down a Sudan Airways passenger plane on Saturday. All 60 people were killed.

A radio broadcast by the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA), monitored here, said the plane was shot down near Malakal by members of the Fashoda battalion. It blamed the deaths on the Sudanese Government for ignoring rebel warnings not to fly over rebel-controlled territory.

"The deaths of innocent citizens on the plane rest clearly on the shoulders of the Khartoum Government, which turned a deaf ear to our initial warnings," the rebel radio said.

In Malakal, Colonel Simon Manang, governor of Upper Nile Province, told the Sudan News Agency that the Fokker Friendship plane crashed after being hit by a missile as it left Malakal for Khartoum. All the victims, most of them women and children, were Sudanese. No foreign aid workers were aboard.

Confirming the rebel intentions to shoot down all planes in the area, Captain Daniel Kodj, a spokesman for the SPLA, said the rebels were still convinced the Government in Khartoum was using civilian flights as cover for shipping arms and ammunition to army units.

"That's why the warning stays. All SPLA units will shoot at planes without exception," he said in a telephone interview from the Ethiopian capital, Addis Ababa.

A C-130 transport plane which has flown 44 tonnes of maize to Wau from neighbouring Uganda has been grounded at Entebbe airport since last Friday after the Sudanese rebel warning.

A statement from the International Red Cross headquarters here said: "The ICRC is very concerned about the civilian population as well as about the latest developments in the situation in southern Sudan, and hopes to be able to resume relief flights as quickly as possible."

With child nutrition rates across much of southern Sudan approaching levels reached during the worst of last year's drought, only in the southernmost region, Equatoria, has any relief operation been possible in rural areas, with food coming in from Kenya.

Russians extend freeze on nuclear testing

By Jonathan Steele

MR MIKHAIL GORBACHEV this week announced a further unilateral extension of the Soviet Union's year-old freeze on nuclear testing. The Soviet leader's move is intended to encourage the US Congress, Nato allies, and world opinion to press President Reagan into a productive summit meeting.

Ha challenged Mr Reagan to sign a treaty banning all nuclear tests this year. "This event would undoubtedly be the main real outcome of the meeting and a considerable step on the way to ending the arms race," Mr Gorbachev said in a speech on Soviet television.

The US State Department promptly rejected any notion of a comparable American ban. "As far as the US is concerned, we believe a nuclear test moratorium is not in our security interests nor that of our friends and allies," a spokesman said.

However, the White House spokesman, Mr Larry Speakes, said: "We've always been interested in a testing agreement that would provide for some means of verification."

He indicated the type of test ban agreement the United States foresees would be limited in scope. "I think in the case of a complete and total test ban, it would have to be taken in the context of arms reductions," he said.

Mr Gorbachev has extended the unilateral ban to Soviet tests three times now in order to promote a mutual superpower ban which most independent arms control analysts believe would be a simpler and more easily verifiable break on the arms race than all the complicated numbers games in Geneva.

His speech came barely a week after the US House of Representatives voted to ban all but the

Arms rebuff for Reagan

By Michael White in Washington

THE Reagan Administration suffered a double rebuff to its arms control policies after the House of Representatives placed a second, unprecedented barrier in the path of White House defence policy.

Tactically, President Reagan may yet retain his freedom of action with the help of the Senate. But "this is as dramatic as the House decision in the early '70s to cut off funds for the war in Vietnam," one congressional official said last week.

Whereas previous clashes over the annual Defence Authorisation

Bill have usually been about specific programmes — like Star Wars, or the MX missile — the current House rebellion challenges central tenets of the White House's defence and arms control policies: nuclear testing and the utility of peer agreements with Moscow.

Hard on the heels of its weekend decision, carried by a convincing 284 votes to 155, to halt all but the smallest nuclear tests in 1987 if as they have now announced, the Russians agreed to continue their own moratorium, the Democratic-controlled House last week voted against providing any funds for weaponry which would exceed the levels agreed in the 1979 SALT II treaty that the White House repudiated last May.

Nineteen Republicans deserted their President in the 225 to 186 vote which would, in effect, oblige the Pentagon to scrap once its programme for rearming B-52 bombers with cruise missiles reached the 1979 limit.

More predictably, the House agreed to cut the White House's request for \$5.6 billion next year for Star Wars or Strategic Defence Initiative research to \$3.1 billion, against the Republican Senate's increasingly grudging version of \$3.95 billion.

The battle to hold the Pentagon budget below \$300 billion now seems relatively uncontroversial, having first been won last year. But this year the cards are not stacked so much in the White House's direction.

THE leader of South Africa's Zulus, Chief Buthelezi, has offered talks with the leader of the outlawed African National Congress, Mr Oliver Tambo, on how to unite the country's blacks. At a weekend rally he noted that the geolod ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, had made it clear that the Zulu Inkatha movement "could not be brushed aside in any future negotiations about South Africa's future". Chief Buthelezi has made Mr Mandela's release and the unbanning of the ANC a precondition for his involvement in the Government's attempts to start negotiations on black political rights. According to recent reports in Washington the CIA was involved in the arrest of Mr Mandela in 1982.

In a gibe clearly directed at the ANC, President Reagan last week said he had been assured by Chief Buthelezi and others that radical

black nationalists were only urging the West to adopt sanctions because "they want to foment massive disruption, hunger and despair of the people" in order to seize power themselves. Despite the State Department's call for talks with the ANC, he claimed that ANC exiles making public statements were members of the South African Communist Party. Black South Africans were not being as severely oppressed as Nicaraguans were by the Sendinista regime, he said, repeating his conviction that President Botha's "goal is to eliminate apartheid".

The Republican-led US Senate last week approved 84 to 14 a package of wide-ranging economic

defended the policy of creating independent and partially self-governing "black homelands," describing it as a process of broadening democracy. While many observers see the independent states as a product of "grand apartheid," Mr Botha told the party faithful that they were "born through an orderly process of evolutionary constitutional reform." They had as much right to exist and to international recognition as the smaller independent states of the Commonwealth, he said, citing island states such as the Seychelles as examples.

Mr Botha hinted at the establishment of new black mini-states under his government's policy of "broadening democracy." He asked: "If a state such as Luxembourg can be independent, why cannot black urban communities close to our metropolitan areas not receive full autonomy as city-states?" There was no contradiction between the government's reform processes and the "strict, but temporary measures" taken to ensure

continued law and order.

"Our policy is one of orderly, evolutionary change, in contrast to the so-called liberation of violent revolutionaries. In Africa, we have repeatedly seen the consequences of premature liberation without proper preparations and planning. "In January of this year I said very clearly in parliament that we have outgrown the outdated colonial system of paternalism as well as the outdated concept of apartheid. But there is no need for us to disown and to condemn our past in a spirit of dejection and despair."

The State President repeated an offer to Western leaders to hold talks on military, social and economic stability in southern Africa. "The Republic of South Africa holds the economic key for unlocking the wealth and resources of our region," he said. "Without South Africa there can be no prosperity for the sub-continent of southern Africa."

This offer was at first welcomed by President Reagan but the British Foreign Office was cool in its response. It recalled a recent statement of Sir Geoffrey Howe, the Foreign Secretary, which said that the problem did not require the creation of new forums.

(President Botha later used the latest blundering by President Reagan to ridicule international attitudes. Referring to Mr Reagan's enthusiastic response to his summit proposal — a welcome later contradicted by the State Department when it was realised that apartheid would not be on the agenda — Mr Botha said that the West reminded him of a child pulling petals off a flower and

Buthelezi offers talks to ANC

and political sanctions against South Africa. The House of Representatives had already approved a much stronger bill and the Senate action makes final passage by Congress of a sanctions package next month a virtual certainty. The Senate bill would bar all new US investments in South Africa and loans to the private sector, ban imports of uranium, coal, steel, iron, textiles and agricultural products, and freeze deposits in US banks held by Pretoria or state-owned firms. It also would end landing rights for South African Airways, ban imports from companies owned or controlled by the South African government and withdraw consular facilities for South Africans.

In South Africa itself the Government's Bureau for Information reported seven more deaths in politically-related violence. On Friday night two men were "hacked" in an East Rand township. Near Durban 20 people set a house alight and then threw the owner on to the flames, while in the western Transvaal another man was burnt in a house. On Saturday, near Port Elizabeth, security forces arrived as a black was about to be burnt. They shot dead one of his attackers. In Soweto another man was burnt to death in his car and in the Orange Free State a man was shot dead by security forces. Conflicting rulings in the Natal Supreme Court about the validity of detentions under

the state of emergency have led to a moratorium on further applications for the release of detainees. The tiny homeland of Kwa Ndebele in the north-east Transvaal has scrapped plans to take Pretoria-style independence to defuse a popular uprising.

In a comment on President Botha's speech last week (see below) the British Foreign Office said: "President Botha said his government is irrevocably committed to dialogue. But he did not suggest any new moves by his government that would encourage the start of that process. The British Government remains convinced that successful dialogue can only take place if the representatives of the full range of black opinion in South Africa are involved. We are disappointed that President Botha showed no signs of taking the quantum leap forward."

Sanctions breach international law, says Botha

President Botha last week launched a broadside against the international community and appealed to South Africans to unite in fighting sanctions against their country. In his speech to 1,600 delegates of the ruling National Party, Mr Botha said: "We are not in the dock before an international community because we are guilty. We are there because we are the prey of greedy world powers, who are entertaining the idle hope of eventually pouncing upon the riches of our country."

South Africa was where the First World and the Third World met. "This is the country where the historical hatred of the Third World and the historical guilt complex of the First World interlarded the vendetta against South Africa," he said. "Our unity must be sacrificed for the sake of a disordered world. The blood of a sacrificial lamb is sought as penance for centuries of injustice. That sacrificial lamb is South Africa, and more specifically white South Africans."

South Africa would not only survive economic sanctions but emerge the stronger on the other side. "If we have to suffer sanctions for the sake of maintaining freedom, justice and order, we will survive them. As part of our common endeavour, we in South Africa must unite in our resistance against proscription, interference and threats from abroad. We must each work at the creation of a national will. That will enable us to achieve breakthrough against sanctions, in the same way we overcame the arms and oil boycott with initiatives of which we can all be proud."

Mr Botha said that international actions against South Africa were "serious transgressions" of the UN Charter and international law. "I wish to warn the international community: there is a real danger that once a politically motivated deviation from this principle has been established, it will become easier to allow political preferences to dictate similar deviations in respect of other countries and issues."

"We are irrevocably committed to dialogue as part of the process of the broadening of our participatory democratic institutions," he said. "Dialogue should not, however, lead to a situation where the self-determination of the groups and communities in our multi-cultural country is jeopardised."

Therefore, if our negotiations lead to drastic changes to our country's constitution, I will keep my promise to consult the voters beforehand. Such consultations on our part, whether by means of a referendum or by means of a general election, could take place sooner than most people expect."

In his speech, Mr Botha strongly

emphatic, saying: "The Western world with its demands about Mandela, about talks with the ANC, and the unbanning of the ANC, should also note we will not be manipulated by words which clothe the devil in the cloak of an angel. "These countries, organisations, and people who so plausibly wish to prescribe to us to talk to the ANC should note the following: why

don't the British talk to the Irish Republicans Army, why don't the Germans talk to Bader Meinhof, and why don't the Italians talk to their Red Brigades?"

The 24-hour congress was marked by repeated denunciations of sanctions by ministers. In particular Australia was lambasted for what were claimed to be its self-seeking motives in leading the sanctions drive.

CLASSIFIED

CARS

FLYING TO GATWICK OR HEATHROW? LOW COST CAR HIRE FROM £60 PER WEEK Unlimited mileage, VAT, Insurance. AA cover included. Please write for brochure WORTH SELF DRIVE 14a Priestley Way, Crawley, Sussex RH10 2NT, England Tel: (0293) 29027

IF YOU ARE HIRING A CAR MAKE IT E.C.R. "WE'RE CHEAPER BY FAR" Cars from £50 p.w. including unlimited mileage, AA/RAC Membership, radios in all models, free delivery Heathrow, Gatwick, Airports and Central London. All vehicles current. Ford models including Auroras and Estates. For quotation write to: Economic Car Rentals Limited, P.O. Box 8, Betchworth, Surrey, RH3 7QZ. Telephone: 01-842 2288 Telex: 917118

SELF-DRIVE CAR HIRE IN THE U.K.

WOODS OF PLEASANT is a long-established family company. Our service is friendly and efficient. We make your car hire as simple and pleasant as possible. Our fleet includes new Ford, Vauxhall, Volkswagen and with offices in many centres, we really can offer you the best service in the country. Write for a brochure. WOODS OF PLEASANT, 1211 School Road, Telford, Shropshire TF1 1JH. Tel: 01952 840081. Telex: 847084. Offices in: REIGATE, GLASGOW, MANCHESTER

Drive the best. Drive... Autoquest Car Rentals. Autoquest Car Rentals (GW) Ltd., Horsham Road, Mid Holmwood, Dorking, Surrey RH4 4ER, England. Tel: 0306 886649. Telex: 859135.

<h1>ACCESS CAR HIRE U.K.</h1>				Phone: 0734-410551	
12-14 School Road, Telford, Shropshire TF1 1JH				Telex: 848792	
Ring us for your light lease on Access Car. For hire quotations, please write to: Access Car Hire, 12-14 School Road, Telford, Shropshire TF1 1JH. Tel: 0734-410551. Telex: 848792.					
				Rent for 30 days	
Group	Car	£76	Group	Car	£117
	Ford Fiesta 857 (for similar)		F	Ford Sierra 1.6i Estate (Vaux. Cav. 1.6i Estate)	
A1	Ford Fiesta 1.1i (for similar)	£81	G	Ford Sierra 2.0i (Vaux. Cav. 2.0i)	£119
B	Ford Escort 1.1i (for similar)	£89	H	Ford Granada Estate (Vaux. Cav. 1.6i Estate)	£159
C	Ford Escort 1.3i Estate (for similar)	£95	J	Ford Granada Estate (Vaux. Cav. 1.6i Estate)	£149
D	Ford Escort 1.6i Ghia (for similar)	£99	K	Ford Transit 12 Seater	£159
SP	Ford Fiesta 1.6i (for similar)	£129	KS	Mercedes 190E	£159
E	Vauxhall Cavalier 1.6i (for similar)	£105	KL	Mercedes 260E 5 Speed	£295
				Mercedes 260SE 5 Speed	£199
Weekly Rates - Unlimited Miles - Comprehensive Insurance - Cold Storage - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance - 24 Hour Breakdown - 24 Hour Repairs - 24 Hour Towing - 24 Hour Roadside Assistance -					

Weekly Rates - Unlimited mileage - Comprehensive insurance - 24 hour emergency breakdown service - Free delivery/return to airport or other location. All rates plus VAT.

CLASSIFIED

CARS

MANCHESTER GATEWAY TO NORTH BRITAIN Large selection of 1985/86 Cars, Estates and Automotors, from £50 per week. No mileage charge. Delivery and collection in North, Cheshire and Lancashire. Brochure by return airmail. MANCHESTER SELF-DRIVE 1212 STOCKPORT ROAD, MANCHESTER, M16 2PL. Tel: 061-422 0564 Telex: 865514 TORTEC.N.

ROSS 1111 Car rental U.K. Self Drive FIESTA £63 Per Week + v.a.t. Other models available. No mileage charge. Free maintenance. Heathrow all hires. Free delivery. Gatwick hires over 2 weeks. Brochure by return air mail.

Ross Car Rental 5 Dickerage Lane New Malden, Surrey KT3 3RZ, England Tel: 01-942 7756 Telex: 27950. ref: 605

Growing death toll in Pakistan riots

GOVERNMENT and opposition supporters fought hand-to-hand in the streets, and police fired shotguns at rioters, as political protests swept southern Pakistan, leaving at least eight people, including four policemen, dead.

The deaths marked the first day of a nationwide opposition campaign to remove President Zia ul-Haq and to free jailed dissident leaders, including the Pakistan People's Party leader, Benazir Bhutto, who was served last week with a month's detention order.

Two policemen were killed when about 4,000 protesters attacked them in Karachi's market area, a government spokesman said. The other policeman was killed and another injured in Hyderabad district, where they tried to stop 200 protesters from blocking a road, police said. Twelve people were arrested.

The spokesman put the day's deaths at eight, but opposition members said at least 11 had been killed in clashes in Sind.

North of Hyderabad, demonstrators blocked the national highway in two places with huge trees. Ten people were wounded when the

By Eric Silver in Lahore

police opened fire to disperse the mob and reopen the road. Rail traffic was also disrupted in various parts of the southern province where rioters burned sleepers and damaged stations.

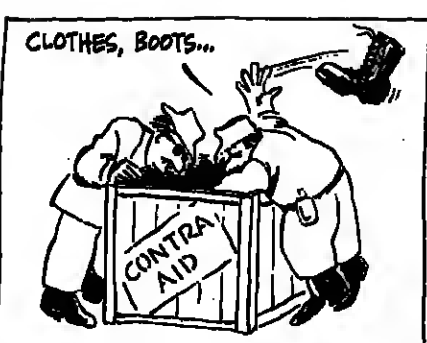
Public meetings are banned for two months in Sind, but similar restrictions were lifted in Punjab at the weekend. A procession of about 3,000 MRD supporters passed off peacefully in Lahore. The march was led by Mr Malik Sayed Hassan, a former High

Court judge, who appealed for a "peaceful, disciplined struggle". Their aim, he said, was to restore government to the people. "With love and peace and friendship, we shall prevail," he told them.

Armed police were deployed in force along the route from the old walled city into the wide mall of the new, but they were visible rather than provocative.

The demonstration ended with the crowd chanting "Zia is a dog, Junejo is a dog," the by now familiar (and tolerated) insult to the President and his Prime Minister. Two young men climbed the clock tower of a three-storey green block and tore down two green Muslim League flags, leaving a single national flag, a relic of last Thursday's Independence Day, still fluttering.

(Le Monde, page 11; Washington Post, page 18.)



Contras to get US arms next month

By Mark Tren in Washington

NICARAGUAN rebels can expect to start receiving US military supplies from mid-September, US officials and congressional sources said after Senate approval of President Reagan's \$100 million Contra aid request. The Senate voted 53-47 last week in favour of the package, which includes \$70 million in military aid.

Analysts here said that the Administration's priority will be training the Contras. The emphasis, said Mr David MacMichael, a disillusioned former CIA consul-

tant, will be on special units and the officer corps. Much of the training will be conducted openly in Honduras by US Army special forces mobile training teams and Vietnam veterans on contract to the US Army.

Mr MacMichael, like others, points out that allowing the CIA to get involved in the Contras war effort means that the Administration will be able to tap on additional \$400 million in CIA contingency funds over which Congress has no control.

Observers say that the lack of Contra access to any significant population inside Nicaragua will preclude any large-scale expansion of rebel numbers. New recruits will come primarily through conscription among refugees who fled the border fighting by seeking shelter in Costa Rica and Honduras.

Analysts predict a new Contra offensive six or nine months after the resumption of American military aid if only to demonstrate its credibility to Congress. It is widely

expected that the rebels will try to seize a town and install an alternative government with a view to American recognition.

During the entire debate on Contra aid in Congress, opponents of Administration policy argued that the military aid package for the Contras would eventually lead to American troops fighting in Nicaragua.

President Reagan hailed the Senate action as a vote for democracy in Nicaragua and urged the negotiators to reach agreement

quickly. President Daniel Ortega of Nicaragua condemned the Senate vote as "scandalous" and a violation of international law.

Michael Simmons adds: British disapproval of the Senate vote was voiced in Whitehall last week. A Foreign Office statement said that while US policy was a matter for the US, the British view, shared with "our European partners," was based on the conviction that the problems of Central America "cannot be solved by military means."

Congress backs Reagan's crusade against Nicaragua

THE US Senate has now voted to set in motion a train of events which could crown or ruin, and certainly dominate, the final Reagan years — not war in South Africa, the arms race or the silted world economy, but the political settlement in the small Central American republic of Nicaragua which has become Ronald Reagan's personal obsession.

Last week the final filibuster was voted down and final congressional endorsement given to the \$100 million White House proposal openly to finance the military subversion of a government with which it retains full diplomatic relations and whose president,

Daniel Ortega, appears on US chat shows — in his suit not his fatigues.

In pursuit of its policy the Administration is prepared to defy the World Court, ignore domestic public opinion (which remains hostile), alienate its Nato and EEC friends who disapprove, and cajole Congress and the Central American republics alike into acquiescence. A damaging war and a Latin debt crisis are both on the cards. If the redoubtable Dr Conor Cruise O'Brien's contribution to the latest issue of the Atlantic Monthly is correct, so is a Latin breakaway from the Roman Catholic Church. For the Marxist

Sandinistas have managed to harness *el dios de los pobres* — the liberationist "church of the poor" — to Latin nationalism, and worsted the Pope in the process.

Yet President Reagan has chosen to make the defeat of the Sandinistas regime a moral as well as a strategic imperative. He need not have done so. Only the excessively pious would deny that the United States has legitimate security interests in its own backyard, even though the President's maps and wallcharts, showing the range of Sandinista subversion and Soviet MIGs, strain credulity.

But we have heard less lately about Mangu's subversion of El Salvador. Perhaps the charge has served its purpose now that the Salvadoreans have a respectable, if weak, civilian head in President Duarte and the Contras are an established, if weak, military force in their Honduran camps. Geopolitical considerations merge with a moral crusade to restore democratic pluralism, US-style, inside Nicaragua. Monroe's Doctrine blends with Reagan's and gives rise to the pleasing thought: does the President realise it is his predecessor of that name and not Marilyn, we are talking about?

This crusade is the product of an interesting bit of cross-breeding between gut anti-communism on the right (exemplified by Secretary of State Shultz) and that strain of crusading liberal zeal which renege Democrats like Jeane Kirkpatrick have brought with them from the party of Woodrow Wilson and Jack Kennedy. Ronald Reagan is arguably the first "neo-conservative" of the school, unless we count Winston Churchill.

In this particular drama, one key player, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, the ambitious Mr Elliot Abrams, was only born in 1948. His passage from Harvard and the LSE to the royal family of academic neo-conservatism (he is the son-in-law of Norman Podhoretz and Midge Decter) included apprenticeships on the staffs of Senators Henry "Scoop" Jackson and Pat Moynihan.

At age 38, Abrams is one of just two senior survivors after six years in the Reagan State Department (the other is Chet "constructive engagement" Crocker) and his apparent energy injects one of the few notes of moral complexity into the drama. Abrams it is, who, in the interests of even-handed application of the crusading Reagan

doctrine, appears to be applying pressure not just on Nicaragua, but on the rightwing dictatorships of Paraguay and Chile. Not Contra pressure, of course, but enough to win him the abuse of Senator Jesse Helms — a development which will do the lad's career no harm at all.

It is Washington's public claim that the modest down payment of \$100 million of taxpayers' money will turn the tide; the motley collection of Contra leaders really will fulfil the promises of victory in a year or so; that the long-suffering people of Nicaragua will take heart and resist; and that the Marxist commandants will split, crumble and flee to Havana or Mexico City; that Moscow will acquiesce.

In this last hope they may be right. The Soviet leadership has invested only modestly in the Nicaraguan adventure, its pragmatism more pronounced than Washington's. But it will not be that easy. No one here, except

from Miami and from the camps on the Nicaraguan borders. Weapons, including Stinger missiles to neutralise the Sandinista Soviet Hind helicopters, will flood in. US special forces, Green Berets, will be free at last to train the Contras forces. Intelligence support has been authorised and the presumption must be that the kind of "covert" skullduggery which Congress halted in 1984, assassination mania, mining of ports, will be revived. For the evidence of the past two years shows that congressional oversight, the conscience clauses, will be nigh impossible to enforce. The CIA's own funds will be available — hundreds of millions of dollars.

Most likely the Contras will attempt to take and hold territory on which to declare a provisional government which the US can recognise while de-recognition Managua. That is what Ortega predicts and Senator Richard Lugar appears to expect. It was tried in the Jalapa Valley in 1983 and failed. In an unpublished paper, former CIA analyst, David MacMichael, now working for the liberal Council on Hemispheric Affairs (COHA), predicts the Contras will this time try Puerto Cabezas or "less likely" Bluefields on the isolated Atlantic coast, far from Spanish population centres, among the separatist Miskito Indians.

In short, a Bay of Pigs Mark II in which US air and naval power would not be pulled back by the blast of conscience if it was needed to sustain a bridgehead. From there on nobody really knows what happens next, but the Nicaraguan "provocation" on the Honduran border last March saw US helicopters rush up local troops and could provide justification for direct intervention under the Rio Treaty.

Washington banks on greater economic and military pressure producing greater internal repression and less, so far, not been disappointed. Sophisticates here want to see the revolution stay in its own juice rather than recycle the legends of Sandino. This is a view which, coupled with Mr Reagan's notorious caution in all but words, lends itself to a dirty little low intensity war — keeping options open until something turns up or the President leaves office.

It will not go down well with American public opinion which likes its wars clean and over by tea time. Nor should it. But the clock is ticking against Mr Reagan.

By Michael White in Washington

possibly the President, believes that the gap between rhetoric and reality can be filled by \$100 million, especially when the funds must on well-documented congressional evidence) run to Miami real estate, cocaine deals and kickbacks as well as soldiers' boots.

At this point the pessimists predict that the Administration is creating its own Vietnam and that the commitment of the US Marines to another 21 year tour is the logical consequence of the policy. Even that old warhorse, George McGovern, was forced to break his silence of his enforced retirement the other day to offer dire warning. Oddly enough the military, so wary since Saigon days, is positively gung-ho and says the whole show could be wrapped up in a month.

The Administration insists that its \$100 million package is the alternative to direct military involvement and there are enough for it as the lesser evil. But evil it will be and, whatever happens, the White House will be back for more next year.

What is likely to happen is this. Congress has re-opened the door for the CIA to run the Contra war

The economy that went from the Red to the black

AN ITALIAN colleague who knows the Soviet Union well recently described it as the most corrupt country in the world, with a black economy larger than that of Italy and a passion for bribes and gifts that bears comparison with the Middle East or West Africa.

He may be right. But with the Soviet Union undergoing a great national spree of a campaign against corruption, with ministers and ambassadors and top officials being arrested and the papers filled with accounts of the trials, it is worth thinking seriously about what corruption really is and what it means.

In a paradoxical way, official corruption is based on the assumption of honesty. You assume that once an official is bought, he stays bought, and delivers the service for which he is bribed. To this extent at least, we are not really faced with a vast and institutionalised dishonesty, but a matter of payment for services rendered.

The other feature of corruption which blurs the morality of it all is the way that poor countries need corruption as an excuse to keep the state budget under control. There is less pressure to pay clerks and officials a decent wage if you can assume that they make up their salaries in bribes.

Corruption, in short, is the free market system run riot. In a centrally planned economy like the Soviet Union, or in an economy where goods are distributed

through a rationing system like Britain's in the 1940s, corruption is a way of restoring the classic capitalist system of rationing through price. Anything is available, to those with wealth or influence.

In the later years of Leonid Brezhnev, it is hardly an exaggeration to say that this kind of capitalism was re-entering Soviet

scandal had been to the Meccan years in Britain.

But the very size of the Soviet Union meant that the corruption was on an altogether grander scale than it ever reached in Britain. In spite of the regional scandals that hit the north-east of England with the Poulson affair and Wales with the Taffie saga. In Georgia, Azerbaijan and throughout the traditionally Muslim republics of Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and the rest of them, local officials had the autonomy to run the place like so many satrapies.

In Azerbaijan, until the great purge which swept away the entire local presidium, the minister of interior and all the senior party secretaries, the going rate for promotion to local police chief was 50,000 roubles, and the post of first secretary of a district party committee cost a staggering 200,000 roubles.

Taking charge of that purge was Geidar Aliev his current seat on the Politburo, just as the career of the current foreign minister Eduard Shevardnadze took off when he ran the purge in Georgia. There are more vast clean-ups under way in Central Asia this year.

Half of the party leadership in Uzbekistan has been replaced and although Brezhnev's old comrade Dinnukhamed Kunayev remains in charge of Kazakhstan, the second and third ranks of the party

administration beneath him have been swept away after scandals that involved people building private horse-racing courses and luxurious private homes. But the question is now being publicly raised whether the police inquiries and the purges go far enough. There was a remarkable letter published in the Moscow press recently from a young man who has just been promoted manager of a food store.

"There exists the dangerous delusion that having arrested several hundred criminals, having published their crimes, we have managed to put an end to the illness. This is only partly true. Certainly the people who took end gave bribes, those who set up the vast network of theft and corruption have now been isolated. But has the system they created been destroyed at the roots?" he began.

He went on to describe his own experience. The trade department

which controls and supplies his shop had been investigated. "Practically all the leadership" was imprisoned or dismissed," he claimed, "but as soon as I became shop director, there was a phone call saying I should not forget that tomorrow was the birthday of Polina Ivanovna from the accounts office. Such phone calls from various trading and controlling organisations keep on ringing as if nothing had happened."

"We depend on our suppliers, and they accept our orders, but if our orders are not supported by something impressive, by this or that kind of bribe, we can be left without products," he went on.

"It is not enough to uproot the sick tree. It is necessary to decontaminate the ground around it. I see the way out only in changing affecting the whole economic mechanism. I'm convinced we need radical changes — the sooner the better."

FILL IN THE COUPON. THEN FILL IN CHEQUES FROM A DEPOSIT ACCOUNT THAT PAYS OVER

9.3%⁰ INTEREST.

If you have sterling funds to invest, find out about the Sterling Money Account managed by offshore bankers, Tyndall & Co (Isle of Man) Ltd.

You earn high interest (the result of Tyndall Group's muscle in the money market) and enjoy the convenience of a cheque book for all normal banking services, including instant access to your funds, and payment of large bills (minimum cheque £250). The account can also be used for standing orders.

Investment is in UK banks, local authorities and building societies. Interest is credited four times a year, with the interest itself earning interest to give you an even higher return (currently 9.71%). Post the coupon for details.

* Rate at time of going to press

To: Tyndall & Co. (Isle of Man) Ltd, Dept PO Box 62, Tyndall House, Kensington Rd, Douglas, Isle of Man, U.K. Tel: (0624) 29201. Telex: 628732.

Please send me details of Tyndall Money.

Accounts: Sterling ☐ US Dollar ☐

Name

Address

Tyndall & Co. (Isle of Man) Ltd

CLASSIFIED

BOOKS

ANY NEW BOOK sent anywhere. Write: Whitman's Bookshop, 7 Orange Grove, Bath, UK. Visa/Mastercard accepted.

EDUCATION

CITY & GUILDS OF LONDON ART SCHOOL
Principal: Roger de Grey, P.R.A.
Full-time: 1yr foundation course, 3yr diploma courses in Painting, Illustrative Arts, Sculpture, Sculpture Carving in Stone & Wood, and Restoration of Wood, Stone & Polychrome Finishes. Occasional Arts BTEC diploma courses in Restoration, Carving & Polychrome: 2-year general and 2-year higher. 2-year diploma courses in Lettering, and Woodcarving & Gilding. Fees £2,300 per annum.
SAB is:
The Secretary, 124 Kensington Park Road, London W81, England.

HOTELS

LONDON — Heritage Hotel, 47/8 Leicester Gardens, W2. Moderate terms. Private toilet, shower. Tel 01-402 9082.

GIFTS

Present Surprise
A personalised bottle of champagne or cognac: a gift for someone special.
Write to:
14 Bryan House,
Rusell Street,
London WC1N 3HL.

ACCOMMODATION

202 LUXURY SERVICE APARTMENTS FROM £39 per day per apartment LONDON
Self-contained, fully serviced apartments in Kensington — close to park, shops, buses and subway. Colour TV, telephone, equipped kitchen, central heating. Modern luxury at reasonable prices. City park. Brochure by return mail. Quote "G".
CHALFONT INVESTMENTS LTD,
202 KENSINGTON, CHURCH STREET, LONDON W8, ENGLAND.
Tel: 01-229 5371 (answering)
773 7032/239 9055
Telex: 21792 (m2354).

LONDON, Wimbledon — 4c flats for 2-6, 5 mins. sta., CH, TV, 2 weeks min. From £90 pw. Brochure: 17 St Mary's Road, London, SW19. Tel: 01-847 0573.

FAIRLAWN APARTMENTS Kensington W11
A temporary London home for visitors or families on the move. Short or long term in comfortable fully equipped service flats, sleeping 2-7 from £50 per flat per day. Fully equipped kitchen, fridge, china, linen, central heating, hot water, colour television, included with maid service and private telephone. Push chairs, high chairs and cots or cribs available on request without charge. Baby-sitting and easy car parking. Easy access to West End and Portobello Road.
Brochure:
109 Elgin Crescent, Kensington, London W11.
Tel: 01-229 6006

COMMENT

End of the line with Mr Botha

THE AMERICAN Senate's overwhelming endorsement of sanctions implies that the US will within a month apply tougher measures against apartheid than anything so far envisaged by the Commonwealth or the European Community. The six-to-one vote for a series of trade embargoes suggests that there should be no difficulty in finding the two-to-one margin needed to override a veto by President Reagan. The House of Representatives voted earlier by a large margin to put a total ban on trade with South Africa, but the compromise now to be worked out is likely to be closer to the Senate bill than the House's. Rather than be overruled, Mr Reagan may decide on a beefed-up version of last year's executive order, issued to pre-empt tougher congressional moves (which were much milder than the last Senate package). Either way, Washington seems set to adopt a stance on sanctions which will throw Mrs Thatcher's resistance to them into even sharper relief. At the Commonwealth summit she offered to evict the moderate Community measures due for endorsement next month.

Chancellor Kohl of West Germany, the other chief laggard on sanctions, is unlikely to hold out alone, so by the end of September the Americans, the Commonwealth, and the Europeans may succeed in dragging Britain into more sanctions. Events in South Africa as the Senate debated showed that President Botha has conceded as much reform as he is going to. At the end of his party's federal congress he made it clear he would never shelve residential or educational segregation. He has said time and again that he will not accept one person, one vote in a unitary state; on the contrary, his new proposals last week would extend the balkanisation of South Africa beyond the "homelands" to the black townships as "autonomous city-states." Even the brief ray of hope amid the gloom that the courts might release thousands of detainees had faded by the weekend, before the Government initiated action to close the loopholes found by lawyers.

The general defence emanating from Durban undermined in advance the value of

the Government proposal to let the African majority elect its own representatives to negotiate on a new constitution. We have long advocated the creation of such a mechanism, and we would have welcomed it as little as a year ago. But Pretoria's hardened position against negotiating with the African National Congress suggests that ANC leaders like Nelson Mandela would not be allowed to stand; and even if they were, the racial policies on which the Government has excluded discussion would foreclose talks with such people to failure in any case.

As Mr Botha leads the whites into the laager for what is likely to be a prolonged last stand, his strategy has at least been clarified starkly enough to discredit those of his foreign sympathisers who still believe he can be persuaded to go further on reform. He believes (quite correctly, it has to be said) that he can never get ahead of the demand for change no matter how far he might go, unless he concedes the principle of majority rule, which is anathema. He has the example of the highly effective sports

boycott, which began by demanding integration of teams; when this was widely conceded, the ante was raised to desegregation of the whole of South African society — just for playing games with the Springboks. By imposing a state of emergency to quell revolt and sending foreign mediators home with a flea in their ear, Mr Botha has signalled his refusal to be drawn by this method into the ultimate concession, surrender of white domination. We now know exactly what he meant when he ad-libbed menacingly in his disastrous "Rubicon" speech of just a year ago, "don't push us too far." Apartheid will not be dismantled so long as Mr Botha is alive. But sanctions are not only a signal to those with closed minds; they are also intended for the African majority whose goodwill it is the West's ultimate interest to win and retain.

Reports, pages 7, 15, 16

Bhutto arrest

Continued from page 1

principal buttress for the Zia regime, which has profited handsomely from Pakistan's strategic proximity to Afghanistan. The Americans were instrumental in getting the General to lift martial law eight months ago, which enabled them to claim that at least one of the nasty dictators among their allies and clients was open to persuasion on human rights.

The wheel has almost turned full circle. Many of those now under the MRD umbrella were in the mass movement which ousted Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and the PPP in 1977, opening the way to the harshness of the military regimes Pakistan has had between its brief bouts of democracy. Ever since General Zia, who believes Islam and democracy are irreconcilable and Islam must come first, took over he had promised a restoration of civilian rule. The delivery date has receded further and further into the future, and last week's police action can only be seen as another attempt to put off what he clearly recognises as the day of reckoning. The longer he postpones the demands for secular democracy and regional autonomy, the bigger the explosion will be when it comes. The General is politically bankrupt and if his American creditors are to salvage their position in Pakistan they should stop investing in his regime.

As K2 in the Himalayas claims the lives of two leading British climbers, David Ross examines the fatal attraction of the sport.

Reaching the tragic heights of obsession

ON the Savoie glacier at the bottom of K2, a three-week trek from anything that resembles civilisation, there is a small cairn bearing a cross and a series of aluminium plaques with the names of those who have died on the mountain's slopes.

The British climbers Alan Rouse and Julie Tullis, who perished from cold, exhaustion and hunger with four others sometime last week, must now be added to a bleak roll-call. K2, the world's second highest peak, deserves its epithet "the savage mountain" only too well: it has now claimed 20 lives.

Since 1978, when Nick Estcourt disappeared under tons of falling snow on another expedition to K2, the tiny elite of British Himalayan climbers prepared to attempt the 14 mountains more than 8,000 metres high has lost many of its brightest and best.

In 1982, Joe Tasker and Peter Boardman — arguably the two most gifted writers of mountain literature — disappeared high on the still-undiscovered Everest northeast ridge. Two years later, Alex MacIntyre, a Scot with a string of high-altitude successes to his name at the age of 28, was killed by a falling stone on the south face of Annapurna. Last year Roger Baxter-Jones, another mountaineer of vast competence and experience, was killed in the Alps.

The poignancy of the deaths of Rouse — on his last expedition, two weeks before the birth of his first child — and Tullis, who did



Alan Rouse



Mrs Julie Tullis

not begin Himalayan climbing until her forties but went higher than any British woman, is almost unbearable.

But as the news of their disappearance began to break among the climbing community at the weekend, the enthusiasm of those who remain seemed undimmed. Sandy Allen, a veteran of Everest, Lhotse and other Himalayan ventures, said: "I never encourage anyone to take up climbing. If they really want to do it, fine, I'll give them every support. But otherwise, no. It takes over your life."

Since Mallory's celebrated, if enigmatic, comment that he wanted to climb Everest "because it's there" both climbers and non-climbers have attempted to ex-

plain the fatal attraction, mostly without success. But the all-consuming nature of the obsession is not in doubt.

Most of the highest peaks have been scaled, usually many times; the emphasis now is on new, hard routes, done in "Alpine style" — without porters, oxygen, chains of fixed rope and well-stocked camps, in a single push.

To achieve the fitness and acclimatisation necessary for such ascents, it is no longer possible, as in the days of Mallory, to do much but climb.

The theory behind Alpine-style ascents is that they minimise danger by spending less time on slopes prone to avalanche, and

storms the chances of individual climbers falling victim to these "objective" risks over which they can have no control are reduced.

The theory has statistical backing: according to a survey in the latest issue of Mountain magazine, 60 per cent of the 260 deaths on 8,000 metre peaks up to the end of February 1988 were caused by objective events. To those bereaved by the deaths of Alan Rouse and Julie Tullis, it is small comfort: but the same survey also found the odds of dying are rather better than was once thought. The fatality rate among those setting off for 8,000 metre peaks is not the often-quoted figure of one in ten but 3.4 per cent, although as the survey noted, "for those who return again and again the risk is obviously higher".

In recent years, parties climbing in Alpine style have succeeded on routes in the Himalayas which would once have seemed inconceivable. Perhaps the most remarkable was the ascent last year of the west face of Gashirbrum 4, a 26,000 foot peak a few miles by K2. The two-week climb by a single pair involved unprotected between ledges on crumbling, technically difficult rock, followed by a descent of an unclimbed ridge, besides such an achievement, Reinhold Messner's solo, oxygenless ascent of Everest in 1980 begins to seem almost easy.

New routes have been climbed Alpine-style by British parties on Shishapangma, and Kangchenjunga. Alpine-style, according to

Messner, means climbing by "fair means": for those who succeeded, the personal reward and satisfaction appears to be much greater.

But the margin for coping with the unforeseen must be pared at most to nothing. Speed is essential, and speed means reducing weight. When a storm breaks, as it did on K2, the climber has only the contents of a rucksack and the will to live.

Expressing another aspect of the climbing obsession represented by Messner and Sandy Allen in their different ways, Rob Collier, a mountain guide and instructor and a close friend of Boardman, Tasker and Rouse, said that as he had become more capable as a mountaineer, he had found it necessary to do harder and harder routes to derive the same "peak experience" and heady euphoria, to climb in smaller teams in increasingly dangerous and remote locations.

Then there came a point where he, like many climbers, stood back: he began to wonder if striving to attain such an experience was any longer worthwhile.

Perhaps the apparently fatalistic remarks of Terry Tullis and Rouse's lover Deborah Swannay reported after Alan's and Julie's deaths, that they had achieved the peak of their ambition, begin to seem explicable. They, more than anyone, knew the strength of the obsession, and that the terrible and senseless death the fact of having reached the summit made a difference.

Le Monde

ENGLISH SECTION

Reagan abandons the moral high ground



MANAGUA'S LEADERS obviously did not take long to react sharply to the US Senate vote on Wednesday, August 13, approving the package of \$100 million in military and humanitarian aid to the Nicaraguan "contras" that President Reagan had been insisting on for the past six months.

While this is undoubtedly a major victory for Reagan, it is also an ambiguous one. After an intense personal campaign, the US President succeeded in changing the minds of a majority within the Congress which until then had opposed a US commitment to men whom Reagan emphatically described as "freedom fighters". But the dividing line is still narrow between the champions of stepped-up and publicly acknowledged military aid and those who fear the escalation will turn into a Vietnam-style conflict in Central America.

Public opinion in North America is moreover largely quite opposed to any possible direct or indirect armed US involvement in Nicaragua. The United States has normal diplomatic relations with Managua, yet it is bankrolling an armed movement dedicated to

overthrowing the Sandinista government. A situation that is a particularly shocking paradox and anomalous, to put it no more strongly.

The US Senate vote was castigated as "scandalous" by Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega speaking at a news conference in Managua the next day. He described the renewed aid given by the United States to the "contras" as an "infringement of international law" and a "threat to world peace". He also pointed out that

COMMENT

World Court in The Hague had condemned the United States for direct and indirect intervention in Nicaragua over the past two years.

This is a moral condemnation which scarcely seems to bother Reagan, since he has decided that the United States will in all probability not recognise any future World Court decisions concerning Central American conflicts. So far, however, the Sandinista leaders appear to have failed to make the most of this

major advantage in their relations with world opinion. This is partly because the fund of goodwill they had to begin with has since significantly diminished. Even some of their sympathisers in the Socialist International are now voicing their doubts about the way in which they claim to be applying the three principles of their revolution — political pluralism, a mixed economy and nonalignment.

Every new American threat, every new "contra" onslaught has so far been met with another turn of the screw in Managua, thereby playing into the hands of the Sandinista enemies who condemn the regime's inexorable drift into totalitarianism. There is no sign that the helping hand Washington has given the "contras" is going to persuade Managua to take a new moderate line.

The Senate vote moreover does not modify the balance of power on the ground in the short term. For months the "contras" have not shown that they are particularly competitive. But the Sandinistas are going to have to intensify a war effort which is helping to strangle Nicaragua's drifting economy. (August 16)

Pakistan set for violent phase

Violent clashes marked Pakistan's independence day on August 14 with the government cracking down hard on opponents. At least six people were reported killed, and the Opposition leader, Benazir Bhutto, 34, was arrested for ignoring an order to stay at home and not take part in public gatherings. Opposition groups were reported to be planning a day of national protest against General Zia ul-Haq's government.

FOUR MONTHS after the triumphant homecoming of Benazir Bhutto, the leading opponent of General Zia ul-Haq's regime, a power struggle is shaping up in Pakistan. Indeed, for the first time since lifting martial law the authorities not only banned opposition meetings set for August 14, which is the country's independence day, but also proceeded to make preventive arrests of hundreds of opponents, and put under a house arrest the daughter of former Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who was executed in 1979.

The Opposition reacted by announcing the meetings would be held anyway and threatened to call a large-scale "national protest movement" in the next few days if those arrested were not released. As for Benazir Bhutto, who has been calling for early elections, she was banned from entering the province of Punjab for five days and consequently was unable to preside at the big meeting which was due to be held in the province's capital, Lahore.

These events are hardly a big surprise. President Zia ended nine years of martial law early this year, but he retains a firm grip on power. Because it boycotted the

1985 parliamentary elections, the Opposition is now practically unrepresented there. But when she returned from exile in April, Bhutto launched a campaign urging dissolution of the present Chamber. For weeks her meetings, which were permitted by the government, continued to draw substantial crowds in main cities.

After the Ramadan pause, it was doubtless time for Bhutto, who enjoys an undeniable popularity, to renew her appeals to the "people in the street" so as to put pressure on Zia, who for his part has the backing of the army and conservative elements in Pakistani society.

COMMENT

But this time, under the excuse of maintaining law and order, the regime decided to put at least a temporary check on opposition activities.

The measures are a serious threat to the "democratisation" of Pakistan, with which Zia — currently on a pilgrimage to Mecca — has frequently expressed satisfaction. But the question is whether the protest movement led by Bhutto has not rather run out of steam in recent months. At any rate, the Pakistani government is counting on the extra-parliamentary opposition weakening and a part of public opinion becoming tired of the "agitation" orchestrated by Bhutto. Whatever happens, the power struggle between the veteran soldier and his young opponent is entering a phase which looks like being more violent than the previous one. (August 16)

Socialists under threat in Hamburg

By Claire Tréan

EVER SINCE the June protests against the building of nuclear plants at Brokdorf and Wackersdorf touched off violent confrontations, that part of West German public opinion which regularly clamours for more police protection and tighter law enforcement has become more vociferous. The controversy over public safety has become particularly sharp in Hamburg where, with three months to go before the regional elections, it has set off one of the worst crises the administration of this Land has ever known.

Hamburg Police Chief Albert Honke headed in his resignation on Monday, August 11. The week before, the interior and justice ministers of the Land government resigned. Things were precipitated by a bloody and spectacular incident which took place on July 29 at the Hamburg courthouse.

On that day, Werner Pinzer, a hardened killer from the St Pauli underworld who was in court on five counts of murder, pulled out a gun and killed his wife and the state prosecutor, before turning the weapon on himself. The gun had apparently been slipped to him by his wife during an earlier visit to the prison where he was being held.

Hamburg was in uproar. How such a notorious criminal was being released? Why was

surveillance so slack? And why was he even granted fairly special treatment in gaol (the authorities apparently hoped to obtain information from him on the Hamburg underworld)?

The Social Democrats who have been running the Land for the past 30 years or so came under fierce attack. The local conservative press demanded that heads should roll and public safety became the all-absorbing preoccupation of all Hamburg. In this Hanseatic city, which has long been grappling with the problem of crime — armed hold-ups, prostitution, drugs — people began complaining about police inefficiency, the authorities' weakness, crimes that went unpunished and the offences committed by prisoners let out on home leave.

The SPD realised that "if it wanted to retain its absolute majority" in the November 9 Land elections, it would have to act. Two ministers — Eva Leithäuser (Justice) and Rolf Lange (Interior) — resigned.

Land government leader Klaus von Dohnanyi cannot, however, abandon his public safety policy without risking to appear to go back on his word and offending a large part of his constituency. "Hamburg," he told the weekly magazine Der Spiegel, "is pursuing a policy of law and order."

Continued on page 12

Peru walking the debt tightrope

IT COMES as no surprise that the International Monetary Fund has decided to rule Peru ineligible for new credits. For six months now, the IMF has been taking a fairly flexible attitude by putting off a decision to exclude Lima from international loans for having paid back only a very small portion of its outstanding debts. The leniency appeared to work, for in May Peru decided it would pay back \$180 million of its arrears by August 15. The debtor-country's subsequent failure to meet the deadline — only \$35 million having been repaid — and the violent attacks against the IMF that accompanied the defaulting made the decision inevitable.

So now we have Peru joining the small band of bad debtors which include Vietnam, Sudan, Liberia and Guyana. But this should not affect Peru directly. For two years now it has received no new credits from the IMF, to which it owes a total of \$750 million. But the indirect repercussions of being excluded by the IMF could prove to be far more dangerous. Creditor governments, banks and even other international lending institutions will necessarily have to heed the IMF ruling when consid-

ering future applications for credits by Peru. Lima had kept up with its repayments to the World Bank, from which it has borrowed \$123 million, but the World Bank headquarters acknowledges that every quarter Peru's situation will have to be taken into account in granting any further loans.

International financial circles are, moreover, beginning to express their reservations about a country owing them over \$14 billion during bad times when Peru's export earnings from oil, copper and silver are steadily

declining while imports of foodstuffs are rising as a result of price controls which have produced some shortages. And Peru's attempts to circumvent the IMF by making arrangements with lender countries to reschedule its debt or pay them off in kind has scarcely met with a favourable reaction except from Eastern-bloc states.

Since assuming power in July 1985, 35-year-old Peruvian President Alan Garcia has elevated the question of non-repayment into a principle and has become the champion of the rebellion against

the austerity policies imposed by IMF officials. Because creditors are "guilty of having injected considerable sums of money willy-nilly regardless of the use to which it was put", and accordingly bear responsibility, he plans to keep Peru's debt repayments down to 10 per cent of its export earnings.

But while much of his criticism of the IMF is justified, the Peruvian President has not succeeded either in persuading other Latin American countries like Mexico, Brazil and Argentina to follow his lead, or in forging a cartel of the region's debtor nations.

This is because international financial circles, including the debtor nations themselves, know that nothing would be worse than making unilateral declarations about non-repayment of debts. The resulting general mistrust in would cause a seizure in the financial circles would cause a seizure in the world's economic machinery. What the indebted nations need for correcting their economic situation is not credit curbs, but higher growth, new credits and more satisfactory market rates for raw materials.

Who is making political capital out of the Nucci affair?

By Corine Lesnes

EARLY JULY. The power-sharing arrangement (between a Socialist President and a rightwing Prime Minister) was working fairly smoothly with the President voicing occasional reservations about some of the ruling Majority's draft bills. The President's popularity rating was at its highest. In New York, he had a meeting with Ronald Reagan; in Moscow, with Mikhail Gorbachev.

On an altogether different plane, the Carrefour du Développement case was pure pulp fiction. People chuckled over the property deals of a (former) head of a private ministerial cabinet, a clairvoyant and a sub-prefect and the amorous extravaganzas of a former graduate of Saint Cyr military academy. Wheeling and dealing against a background of Third World development.

Back to Moscow. On July 9, the President launched with a group of journalists. As was his custom, he made a few disclosures. One of them being that he would not sign the governmental decree on the privatisation of nationalised industries which was due to be adopted the following week at the cabinet meeting.

The following day, Le Monde quite unofficially uncovered a handwritten memorandum sent by Yves Choler, former head of Christian Nucci's ministerial office. The memorandum had been written at least two months earlier and its existence was known little more than a fortnight before. In its 13 handwritten pages, Choler — who undoubtedly saw which side of his bread was buttered — accused his former boss: Christian Nucci, primarily; but also Guy Penna, who is President Mitterrand's adviser on African affairs.

July 14. Mitterrand refused to sign the decree. That was when the Carrefour du Développement case took a sudden and more dramatic turn. Forgotten were the Château d'Orléans and the Bujumbura Franco-African summit. The spoor now inexorably led to Nucci's command. Bureaucratic, his election posters and his fake invoices, with a little diversion on the side to the Elysée by way of the Socialist Party and Paraguay.

On July 16, the satirical weekly Canard Enchaîné revealed that the President's office had to pick up the bill for an armoured Renault R-25 car which had already been paid for in 1985 by Carrefour du Développement. A week later, the same weekly showed how Henri Emmanuelli, who was Secretary of State for the Budget at the time, had been tipped off on Choler's juggling acts. Meanwhile, the police swooped on Beaurepaire, and also searched the Paris offices of OFRES, a publishing firm working for Socialist municipalities. Jean-Pierre Michou, the investigating judge, came back from his holiday specifically to charge Nucci's printer, Choler, who had contacted a Figaro Magazine reporter, sharpened his attacks and revealed in almost mocking tones that he had met Mitterrand and discussed the affair with him. The piece was moving up on the cressboard.

More coincidences, of course. Officially, the way the case was building up had nothing to do with the political situation. Justice, everybody kept saying, was taking its course, and if the investigation had suddenly veered towards the most political (which, moreover, cannot be denied) aspects of this

scandal with its numerous episodes it was quite simply a matter of chance. Nor should anyone see anything more than mere coincidence either in the fact that the first hiccup in the power-sharing arrangement coincided with the start of Nucci's troubles.

But chance, as popular wisdom has it, often has many ramifications. With all due respect to certain people, the "coincidence" requires the events to be interpreted in two ways. Each new situation has its new scandal. For example, has there ever been anything so fantastic which set off so little controversy? However much Nucci may gravely complain about the "political exploitation" of the case, he would be hard put to give the tiniest example of it. The scandal over alleged misuse of ONASEC

Former Minister of Cooperation Christian Nucci, the central figure in allegations about public funds being misused for private purposes, has announced he would himself ask for his parliamentary immunity to be lifted if that proved to be an obstacle to the current judicial investigation. Nucci is a member of the Assembly for an large constituency and mayor of Beaurepaire.

(Office National l'Education Sociale: at Culturelle des Républiques) funds, which is trifling compared with the Carrefour case, has been joyfully seized on by the present Secretary of State for Repatriates André Santini, and his predecessor in the post, Raymond Courrière. But you would look in vain for the tiniest cynical public remark on the Nucci affair by any minister currently holding office.

Should this be seen as one of power-sharing's bonuses? People who have no such illusions will see it rather as consummate skill on the part of the Majority in bending the case. It is clearly playing its cards carefully. It is letting the facts, the actors and especially the bank accounts speak for themselves. And the message is coming across: the Socialists have no monopoly of morality. So, not one word too many. One thing the ruling coalition does not want is to be held responsible for any breakdown of the power-sharing arrangement.

In private, there are fewer inhibitions. Boasting? Some think that in the Carrefour case they have leverage on the President. July 14 proved they were mistaken (Mitterrand chose his customary televised chat to the nation on National Day to announce he had no intention of signing certain decrees). But how far can the case go? That is the nub of the question. Does it contain enough to gradually erode coexistence? Very few today would be able to answer this question mark hanging over the Socialists.

It is said the case is expected to drag on. Dutifully respectful of power-sharing, Minister of Cooperation Michel Aurillac regularly reports to President Mitterrand on what is happening. Obviously the only member of Chirac's government who has been authorised to make statements on the case, this former prefect has so far steered a faultless course, raising the pressure when interest dies down, stopping back when necessary and above all keeping the matter strictly within a national framework. As Minister of Cooperation, Aurillac is determined to separate the Carrefour case from France's African policy. Though he describes himself as a

simple "spectator" in the case, he nevertheless makes regular statements. He says he is "shocked" by Yves Choler's statements, speaks of "banditry", boosts the total sum unaccounted for to F20 million, raises questions about Pénne's role in organising the Bujumbura summit, or considers aloud that Nucci's former cabinet chief has "taken care not to spill everything". If the Majority was looking for someone to punish "bandits", it has found him in Aurillac. "In 20 years' service I've never come across such extravagance," he says.

So, politeness on the surface. There are others to do the less glorious chores. Anonymous telephone calls are on the increase; people tip the press off on features of the scandal they feel are unlikely to be brought to the attention of the police. People opposed to power-sharing perhaps? At any rate, these tip-offs are not surely coming from Nucci, or Hubert Haddad, the founder of OFRES.

Quite apart from this wretched atmosphere, the real questions remain unanswered. The first of course concerns what happened to the F8.5 million which was taken out in hard cash. It should not be too difficult to find out whether the security men — public employees or mercenaries — sent out to Bujumbura were actually paid cash bonuses as Yves Choler claims. The second: has not the spotlight been trained on Nucci's escapades so as to draw attention away from far more serious matters in which, contrary to Aurillac's wishes, France's African policy is well and truly involved?

And then again, to switch to another area, we cannot help wondering why Choler's memorandum, which in all probability was written early in May, reached Aurillac only on June 13 as his office claims. What happened during the first fortnight of May before the charges of falsifying documents were filed? And again, why did the judge wait two months to issue a warrant for Choler's arrest? This last coincidence is doubtless not the least troubling: rumours concerning the former military officer's (lieutenant-colonel) flight "to a country with which France has no extradition treaty" began spreading just about the time he had left London.

(August 12)

Socialists under threat in Hamburg

Continued from page 11

ing a complicated public safety policy. We're trying to be as liberal as possible, while being very firm with lawbreaking. For this we need the full trust of the people, who otherwise could accuse us of complicity. We have lost this trust in recent weeks. As I want to stick to this policy — liberalism and firmness — I have no choice but to sack people."

But the crisis has not been solved for all that, for another charge has been made against the police since June 8 when an anti-nuclear demonstration in Hamburg turned nasty. Several hundred demonstrators from Hamburg and Berlin who were prevented from joining the main rally at Brodowin following various incidents with the police gathered at a large field in Hamburg where they held a spontaneous rally — one

The 13 members of the South Pacific Forum decided unanimously on August 6 at Suva, Fiji, to demand that the question of New Caledonia be put on the agenda of the United Nations Decolonisation Commission. They considered it was urgent to settle the matter. The only reservations were expressed by Sir Thomas Davis, Prime Minister of the Cook Islands, who had met Prime Minister Jacques Chirac in Paris last month. Sir Thomas suggested it might have been better to wait until the referendum that the French government has proposed to hold in New Caledonia before next summer. Nevertheless, he voted with the other 12 on the question. The ruling on the request to put the New Caledonia issue on the agenda will be made by the "Committee of 24", presided over by Cuba's permanent representative at the United Nations, Oscar Oramas-Oliva. The expectation is that if nothing happens to hold up the procedure, the case of New Caledonia could be put down on the UN commission's agenda by November.

This is the eighth time that New Caledonia seeking independence have asked for their case to be taken up by the UN. Jean-Marie Tjibaou, who headed the FLNKS (Front de libération nationale Kanak et Socialiste) delegation to the Suva meeting (it was admitted on an observer basis), pronounced the Forum's initiative "very positive". The decision, he said, gave them "a new position in the Pacific".

Senator Diok Ukelw of the RPCR (Rassemblement pour la Calédonie dans la République) said "New Caledonia's political problem is one for the New Caledonians and the New Caledonians alone... (it) should not be internationalised through a vote in the Forum." And he added: Nothing will shake the New Caledonians' firm determination to remain French and decide their own future."

Prime Minister David Lange of New Zealand announced at the Forum that Great Britain and the United States would probably sign the protocols of the treaty declaring a nuclear-free zone in the South Pacific. If this happened, France would be further isolated.

France loses its way in the Pacific

FRANCE has suffered a serious diplomatic setback at the South Pacific Forum where it was implicitly accused of perpetuating a colonialist situation in New Caledonia in defiance of international law and morality. While the advocates of New Caledonian independence and their supporters emerged strengthened from the test, the Suva (Fiji) summit of 13 South Pacific countries illustrates France's growing isolation in southern seas.

It is too soon, however, to

not an irrevocable condemnation. But it would be pointless to cavil about details so as to evade the blindingly obvious and wriggle out of considering its implications. France has lost a major battle at Suva. For years Paris has done its best to stop France being dragged back into the dark as an inglorious and unregimented colonial power. The Forum's decision will put France squarely in the dock, which is all the more uncomfortable as it is hard to see other governments overtly rushing to help it out.

COMMENT

speculate on what might happen to New Caledonia's petition for its case to be considered by the United Nations commission on decolonisation. It is even more premature to say what affect the initiative might have on political developments in Nouméa, Paris, or elsewhere. Indeed, though the Forum considered that the French government's policy was a "big step backwards", it did find "some positive aspects" in its approach to the question. Besides, Prime Minister Jacques Chirac is expected to use his forthcoming visit to Nouméa to put things in their proper perspective.

It is quite possible that this is

France has been put under close watch.

Another obvious point is the way the Forum, which happily went along with the independence-association project previously worked out by Edgar Pisani and Laurent Fabius, unanimously repudiated all or part of the plan put forward by Chirac and Bernard Pons. In the Forum's view, the reality of independence cannot be circumvented. The Kinnak community also takes this view. And tomorrow it will be shared by the world community, if the initiative to put to the matter before the United Nations follows its course.

How can the dilemma be solved? How to avoid raising local, regional and international tensions? How to prevent the New Caledonian issue from turning into an international cabal and setting a regrettable precedent for France's other overseas departments and territories? The answer now depends primarily on Chirac's government. While this is so and whatever the reasoning that prompted it, the government has taken big risks by going back on the course towards independence-association. With the ultimate risk of missing this bus on decolonisation while still being unable to head off independence. But independence without France.

The decline to French influence that would inevitably follow would be all the more regrettable as the bus by the South Pacific Forum countries would have doubtless helped to modify the temper frayed by France's nuclear policy in the South Pacific. But the fact is, while France has lost a battle, it has not lost the war. Or New Caledonia, either.

(August 12)

IS A racing driver a top-notch athlete or a kamikaze? Doctors — who have now muscled into sport in a big way — still do not know quite how to approach Formula One driving, particularly as they have only recently begun to play a prominent role on international circuits.

I am referring of course to the work of doctors before races, and not to medical aid provided during events, often under difficult conditions, which usually involves ultra-specialised first-aid and resuscitation techniques, as well as the whole range of traumatological surgery.

The medical study of Formula One drivers is a new discipline which in France is being practised by only a handful of doctors (Claude Meistelman, Jean-Paul Richalet and Michel Provot) and physiotherapists (Marc Pujos and Marc Saunier). What they have discovered is the extent of the stresses imposed on the human body by top-level motor racing.

This is an area where medical science is in a virtually virgin territory. Almost no published work has been done on the subject: techniques are constantly changing; and the subjects of study form a very restricted group (30 drivers or so). The result is that a completely fresh medical eye is being cast on a very high-risk activity.

"It was long believed," says Dr Michel Provot, a rheumatologist by training, "that racing drivers were not true sportsmen at all. It's only in the first few years that they've begun to be regarded as top-flight sporting competitors, in other words as people who deserve to be given a proper medical check-up. The medical treatment they receive has to be all the more efficient because the performance of racing cars is being pushed to ever more sophisticated limits."

Anyone who doubts that racing drivers are athletes need only

Formula One motor racing is an activity that costs its sponsors a great deal of money. But it can also pay considerable dividends. Here, Bernard Lafont talks to François Guiter, promotion and marketing director of the oil company ELF-France with responsibility for sponsoring motor racing, about his company's 20 years or so in the business.

ELF was formed almost 20 years ago, in April 1967. Why did the company get involved in motor racing from its very beginnings?

When I was put in charge of promoting the ELF brand, the aim was to set up a major French company that would immediately market a wide range of oil products. At the time, management wanted the company's technical know-how to act as a spearhead for the brand name.

We noticed that not only were our customers younger, but they included more city-dwellers, than the national average. Market research also showed that technical quality, in the eyes of that target group, was bound up with a motor racing image. So racing struck us as an excellent promotional vehicle.

In the mid-60s, France was pretty low down in the international motor-racing league, wasn't it?

Yes, apart from Alpine-Renault, there were virtually no French cars on the circuits. We scouted around for a partner, and chose Matre, which wasn't very well known at the time. We signed a four-year contract.

With what aim?

The first year, the idea was to continue the Matre programme and try to win the French Formula Three championship. We hoped to get a European trophy in our second year. And in the third our aim was a World Championship victory. Part of our plan was to develop a French-designed engine and win the Le Mans 24-



Alain Prost in his McLaren: golf helps concentration.

Driven to the limit

By Jean-Yves Nau

consider the exceptional physical and mental qualities required of someone at the wheel of a Formula One prototype, which is as radically different from an ordinary saloon car as Greg Lemond's bicycle is from a penny-farthing or a hobby-horse.

Most people are unaware of the extent and intensity of physical effort required by grand prix driving. According to Dr Provot, most muscular exertion involves the arms and forearms, because of the system of direct steering. "By the end of a race, the drivers are dripping with sweat; they can lose two to three kilos in an hour or two."

This results in considerable dehydration, which can have serious consequences. Many drivers, therefore, fix up a special bottle in their cockpit from which they can suck water during the race.

But physical exertion is not all.

Drivers have to possess extraordinary powers of concentration and anticipation.

"It's an coincidence," says Dr Provot, "that Alain Prost, like quite a lot of racing drivers, plays golf between races. It helps him to develop his exceptional concentration." No one, I imagine, has bothered to find out the pulse rate of golfers. But it has been shown that drivers pull their hearts to extremes with 180 to 190 beats a minute.

Everything is conditioned by the vehicle's speed at a given moment: the faster it goes, the more it lings the ground and the suffer the steering becomes. Equally, it gets harder and harder to counteract the centrifugal forces which, for example, pull the driver's head to the right when he takes a left-hand bend.

That is why it takes a driver several weeks to appreciate his car's possibilities. This process of

A 200mph advertising poster

hour race. Some people thought we were being a bit overambitious.

Did you succeed?

Yes. We won the Formula Three championship with Henri Pescarolo the first year. In 1986, we got a European trophy in Formula Two. And in 1989 Jackie Stewart finally took a Matra-ELF car to victory in the Formula One World Championship.

Various constructors — Matra, Renault, Ligier and Lotus — have benefited successfully from teaming up with ELF. How exactly did you help them?

In various ways. We organised schools and selected the best drivers. That's where Patrick Tambay, Didier Pironi and Alain Prost, among others, began their careers.

We worked on the development of new types of Formula Two chassis and engines, and, with the help of Renault, imposed turbo on the racing circuits. Most constructors have now adopted them.

Recently we introduced heavy fuels which provide the same amount of energy with 10 per cent less volume.



HOME THOUGHTS?

Let our two GFA companies help you get the best return from the home you buy or the one you own.

No home in the UK?

We can help. GFA will find the home you want, the money to buy it and a tenant to rent it. Buying a house to let — using a mortgage lender's money — is the best investment you can make.

Or own one already?

Then why not ask us for a remortgage quotation? This can be to raise extra capital for investment and, most probably, save on your present mortgage costs. If the home is in Surrey, try GFA Property Services for an estimate of rent income — and lower property management fees.

Graham Fuller Associates Ltd/GFA Property Services Ltd

NEW ADDRESS

1 Phoenix Court, Guildford, Surrey GU1 3EQ, England

Finance

Graham Fuller Associates Ltd provides a specialised mortgage service to assist expatriate house purchase

■ Mortgages up to 95% ■ No surcharges for overseas employment

■ Permission to let ■ No penalties for early redemption

On our NEW expatriate mortgage schemes terms are flexible and rates are lower than those of most major building societies. Other financial services include pension transfer from previous UK employment, UK tax advice, and offshore investment.

GFA Property Services Ltd provides complete house purchase and property management services

■ Property Solicitors ■ Savings on purchase costs

■ Advancing and refinancing ■ Inspections and reports

■ Full management services ■ Tenancy letting and marketing

FREE BOOKLETS! Return the coupon or telex for details TODAY:

GFA

1 Phoenix Court, Guildford, Surrey GU1 3EQ, England

Telex: 846240 (Ref: 19001230) Telephone: (0483) 65767

Please send me immediately details of:

☐ House Investment and Property Services ☐ Mortgages

☐ Remortgage Loans ☐ Personal Fund Transfers ☐ Other

Name

Address

Postcode

Signature

Date

Telephone

Telex

Fax

E-mail

Other

Comments

Other

Other

Other

Other

Other

Other

Other

Other

Other

Other

(August-1)

THE CHARACTER FACTORY Baden-Powell and the Origins of the Boy Scout Movement. By Michael Rosenthal. Pantheon. \$36pp. \$22.95.

"And then, who should I see, wandering along the Soho thoroughfare, but the Kid from Outer Space, who doesn't know that his name, I haven't told him so. This kid, who is extremely nice and that, and who I know from school days and even from the Baden-Powell contraption, belongs entirely to the Other World. . . . What knot would you use, I said, coming up beside him, and speaking from the corner of the mouth into his ear, to tie two ropes of unequal thickness, supposing you had two such ropes, and wanted to join the pair of them together?" "Oh-ho, it's you, boy Mough, said this Outer-Space creation. . . ."

— From "Absolute Beginners," by Colin MacInnes

AT ANY TIME in the last two generations, the response of the average British youth to any mention of the scout movement would have been similarly flippant (though it's an unusually nice coincidence to find MacInnes's narrator referring to Rosenthal's "factory" as a "contraption"). Since the war, Baden-Powell's short-trousered legions have been a matter *par rite*, their Kipling-like lingo and their interest in woodcraft or hopeless odds with the wised-up aspirations of "modern" youth. Meanwhile, a staple of the English Sunday became the revelation, in the least expensive tabloid newspapers, of yet another scoutmaster who was not as other men. ("He turned back to the pages of the *News of the World* and said 'Another naughty scoutmaster.'") Thus Sebastian Flyte to Charles Ryder on a drowsy day at Bridshead Castle.

But as Michael Rosenthal shows in this diverting and meticulous book, there was a time when Baden-Powell (or "B-P") was more famous, and arguably more influential, than any political party leader. He was a born organizer and propagandist, with a tremendous flair for publicity. And he was able to provide a worried imperial authority with precisely what it needed most — moral reassurance. Though it was led by the upper- and upper-middle class, his movement had a very strong cross-class appeal. George Orwell wrote with despair of the failure of the English left to evolve anything with comparable *esprit de corps*. Slum children who had never seen the countryside were taken into an adventurous outdoor brotherhood, warned against smoking, given good character-references for employers, weaned off petty crime — filled to the brim with jingoism.

You may think that you know about



Portrait of the founder at the opening of Baden-Powell House in London, 1961.

Scout's Honor

By Christopher Hitchens

Baden-Powell and his "old fashioned" ideas about "lesser breeds without the law." But Michael Rosenthal has unearthed an astounding trove of detail. I had not appreciated, for example, the extent of B-P's antipathy towards Jews. He even drew Stretcher-type cartoons for the Boy Scout paper, and mixed anti-Semitism into the rich compost of his general theory of eugenics. The white races were born to rule, the colored races understood only the language of force, and there was a continual necessity to guard against mongrelization

and the ideas of internationalism. Together with men like Rider Haggard and Sir William Evans-Gordon, B-P took part in quite frightening things like the Commission on Youth and the Race, which urged purity of stock and constant state of military readiness. It's not surprising, then, to find that Baden-Powell was quite captivated by fascism in the 1930s. As he wrote: "Dictators in Germany and Italy have done wonders in resuscitating their peoples to stand as nations. They have recognised that

mere scholastic education is not enough for building up a manhood at once efficient, healthy and patriotic — i.e., a strong nation. Mussolini told me he had found the way to make them a united whole was to get hold of the youth, from 8 years old to 22. . . ."

Baden-Powell was not ashamed to claim that the Hitler Youth, too, was founded on Boy Scout principles. When asked to protest at the incarceration of a German youth leader in a concentration camp, B-P replied, "The man whom you quoted as sent to prison . . . was sent there, not for international tendencies, but for homosexual tendencies."

Homosexual tendencies, eh? Years of unkind scoutmaster jokes have made me wary of this subject, but Rosenthal's book is both fair-minded and revealing on the point. Baden-Powell sacrificed the world of women to his military ambitions, and only married late in life to please his mother. His most emotional relationship was with a well-made youth named Kenneth McLaren, who served in the 13th Hussars and was known always as "The Boy." When "The Boy" was wounded and captured by the Boers during the siege of Mafeking, Baden-Powell went into a paroxysm that would not have disgraced Walt Whitman or Wilfred Owen. He was all for dashing into the Boer lines himself, but had to be content with sending creature comforts under a flag of truce. "The Boy" later became a co-founder of the movement which in some questionably subliminal sense bears his name. I have always felt a little queasy when elderly militaristic politicians refer soggily to soldiers as "Our Boys," and Rosenthal has amply confirmed me in this queasiness.

It would have been easy enough to write a sniggering revisionist book about B-P, from the standpoint of what we are pleased to call a more enlightened age. Rosenthal has resisted (I almost wrote "manfully") this temptation. He writes with an historian's sense of the context, and shows the utility of scout ideology to an Empire increasingly beset with self-doubt. There was, amid all the bogus and hateful stuff about blood and soil, a certain ideal of chivalry in "the Baden-Powell contraption." Even as I turned these pages in occasional horror, I could recall the precepts of *The Jungle Book* and the injunction to do a good deed every day (not to mention the tyrannical and ruinous war on the bsnr self that was waged through the campaign against self-abuse). As for the question about which knot to use in uniting ropes of different thicknesses, I can still do that in my sleep. It's a cinch, which is to say a sheepshank.

Christopher Hitchens is a columnist for *The Nation*, *The Spectator*, and *The Times Literary Supplement*.

Stylist Of The Sports Page

George F. Will

NEWSPAPERS drop by our homes every day, generally at breakfast, when anything other than a velvety voice is jarring. Newspapers are, however, by their nature, brusque and businesslike and, given the nature of the world they report, bruising to our spirits. But newspapers should not be severely free of ornaments that improve the scenery of life. One such was Red Smith, the subject of a new biography by Ira Berkow.

What are we missing, we who miss that sports columnist whenever we open a newspaper? This, for example: "Society Kid Hogan was hurrying through the Illinois Central pedestrian tunnel under Michigan Avenue on June 9, 1930, when a man in the crowd put a gun to the head of Joke Lingle, a grafting crime reporter, and it went boom."

"The Kid kept right on walking."

"Why?" The Law asked him.

"The last train was leaving for the racetrack," he said reasonably.

"Did you see the killers," they asked.

"Sure."

"Could you identify him?"

"The Kid drew n hand across the knot in his fleahy necktie."

"Only up to here," he said.

That could have been written by Damon Runyon, or Mark Twain. It

could only have been written by an American, marinated in this nation's distinctive broad-brush drollery. Smith heard Americans imitate spoken on the playgrounds where he worked, as when he asked Pepper Martin how he learned to run so well: "Well, sir, I grew up in Oklahoma and once you start runnin' out there, there ain't nothing to stop you." When Smith asked Early Wynn, a roughneck pitcher, if he ever deliberately threw at a better's head, Wynn mentioned a .230 hitter who cut open Wynn's chin with a line drive: "The pitcher's mound is my office and I don't like office messes up with a lot of blood."

Linton to such toll long enough and the dry tang will seep into your style as it did into Smith's. He explained that Paul Wanner's eyesight was so bad when he was hitting about 350 for the Pirates, he could not read from the bench the advertisements on the outfield fences. Smith said Wanner gave the matter no thought, "for in his philosophy fences were targets, not literature."

On a throne at the center of a sense of humor sits a capacity for irony. All wit rests on a cheerful awareness of life's incongruities. It is a gentling awareness, and no politician without it should be allowed near power. Smith had it

but was interested in laughter, not power. He was an American P.G. Wodehouse. Wodehouse, like Smith, was a soufflé chef of light literature. His prose was flowless and he had an almost pristine absence of solemnity in the employment of it. Smith, unlike Wodehouse, was capable of seriousness, even anger. But not for long.

Berkow's book is a study of craftsmanship, always a commodity in short supply. A biography of a writer succeeds if it sends readers scurrying off to the writer's books. Even people utterly uninterested in sports should sample Smith. Do you care about rodeo? Naither do I. But I believe that any good use of the English language is good for the soul, and that this opening sentence of a Smith column should be put in front of all fledgling writers:

"C. E. Faeka Tooke, born in Redfield, South Dakota, fifty-nine years ago but dragged up on a homestead outside Ekakaka, Montana, was having the very hell of a time with the showy palomino between his knees, but he wore a grin that lit up the corners of Oklahoma City's Fairgrounds Arena."

Smith, says Berkow, suited America's mood in the late 1940s, when the nation wanted to catch

up on missed fun. Smith's syndicated column prospered then. Smith, says Berkow, wrote the way Smith said Pete Rose plays baseball, with "an almost lascivious enthusiasm." The columns about Society Kid Hogan and C. E. Faeka Tooke were obituaries and were included in a book ("To Absent Friends") composed entirely of farewells. Melancholy reading? Hardly.

"Bill Alexander (coach at Georgia Tech) was a gallant gentleman and an intractable fighter for the football player's inalienable right to sign checks with an X. If a good defensive tackle wished to carry a book under his arm when he stroled the campus, Bill did not offer serious objection, although he disliked ostentation. He was, however, unalterably opposed to ayeatralu."

Journalism is generally perishable stuff, but if you can find Smith's books, you will constantly bump into sentences that begin like this: "Three winters ago purty, like a worm in the bud, was making threads into college football. . . . I never met Smith, who died in 1982, but I imagine he laughed in 1982 when he wrote that sentence about purty, just as I laughed when I read it 24 years later. To live on, as Smith does, in transmitted laughter is a tolerable approximation of immortality."

THE GUARDIAN, August 24, 1986

THE GUARDIAN, August 24, 1986

Up hill, down dale, and worlds apart

By Geoffrey Taylor

THE Yorkshire Dales do not form the tidy geographical unit which the boundaries of the National Park superficially impose on them.

On the map they can be made to look like a self-contained stretch of the Pennines. Indeed geologically, I am told, they are, with the predominant rocks, limestone, sandstone, and millstone grit, alternating with each other to produce landscapes which, though different in every dale, have a family resemblance.

On a visit it is different. Wensleydale, Swaledale, Dentdale — they all look equally accessible by car. In two or three days it is possible to cover the whole area. On foot there are paths and drovers' roads which criss-cross the dale and give them a unified appearance. But living here puts them in a quite different perspective. At least it does today. It is probable that in former epochs the economics dictated closer links between the dale.

There were obvious differences of terrain and agriculture between this area and, say, the Vale of York to the east. The monasteries and noble houses like the Cliffords, owned large tracts of ground and imposed similarities between one dale and another. But although landlords like the Devonshires survive, the pattern of communication is different.

The dale where I live branches off from Upper Wharfedale, supplying its own tributary to the Wharfe itself, and thence to the Ouse and the Humber. Upper Wharfedale, from Grassington to Kettlewell and up to Buckden, is referred to locally as "the other dale." The village of Hubberholme, where J. B. Priestley's ashes were recently buried and which he oddly described as "one of the smallest and pleasantest places in the world", is the last of any size before you start the steep climb out of Wharfedale, and over the top into Hawes and Wensleydale. In a straight line it is little over three miles from Hailton Hill, the village at the top of Hubberholme, and indeed the parson on horseback used to conduct one service in each church on a Sunday. By road it is 15 miles.

Gamekeepers, farmers gathering sheep, and energetic walkers see both dales at the same time. The rest of us tend to gaze upwards towards the green, brown and grey skyline separating them. Every autumn the farmers will congregate at Hawes, at the head of Wensleydale, for the tup (ram)



Linton Dale — picture by Donk Thorpe.

sales, when tups will change hands for several thousand pounds, and from August to late October the keepers will visit one another's grouse shoots. Beyond that there is little intercourse between the dales.

I have been to Wensleydale three times but to Swaledale and Dentdale, say, not at all in the past seven years. I sometimes go to Ribblesdale to shop at Settle, a genuine little town 13 miles away along a winding road past Pen Y Ghent hill, usually closed for much of the winter. But that is about the limit of local travel.

Nowadays the gamekeepers and the farmers have become fewer and the rest of us more. On a gloomy view, that process is bound to continue. Of the 22 houses in the village, four are still working farms, though within recent memory there are seven. The resident population is 45. When Baines published his register of Yorkshire in 1822, it was 102, and in addition to farmers they included three gentlemen, a blacksmith, a grocer, a cabinet-maker, and a shoemaker.

Today, five of the houses are holiday homes, one is in part-time occupation, and the demographic change, as it is euphemistically called, has brought into the village at least six households which earn their living outside the dale. They include an Oxford don and two other university professors, two company directors and me.

The last vestige of a grocer's shop disappeared a month ago when my wife, who runs the post

office, found that the "sell-by" dates imposed by the EEC were producing a net loss as well as an abominable clutter in the rafters, and gave up that side of the business. There are now no food shops within ten miles.

In spite of all this, the dale retains its identity and the village hall, newly rebuilt, is in constant use. You can judge a lot by the newspapers people read. Occasionally when the regular man is off, I collect them from ten miles away for local distribution. About 90 per cent of the dale takes the Yorkshire Post, with three or four *Gurndians*, two or three *Telegraphs*, two *Times* (including mine) and one *Daily Mail*. There may be the odd *Sun*, but not many other tabloids. Everyone takes and relies on the weekly *Craven Herald*.

As I write, it is clipping time. Having been dosed (pronounced dozed) against their various infections, the sheep are being fleeced: beautiful fleeces some of them. The dale, the surrounding hills, and the conversation are all dominated by sheep; either Dalehairs or Swaledales but increasingly a cross-breed with Suffolk which produces a fatter lamb.

An economist would go into the sheep market more closely. None of the farmers could afford to live here without the upland sheep subsidy. It is that, and that alone I think, which keeps the dale in occupation by the people who really belong here and ensures that the entire population is not

made up of computer programmers, university lecturers and journalists. If the EEC has put an end to our grocery trade, it has maintained the outward appearance of the dale, for without its solitude for hill farmers it must be doubtful whether the sheep would get by on market forces alone.

Competition is already increasing sharply as lowland farmers, sensing no future in cereals, change to the sheep which they can fatten far more profitably than on these sparse pastures.

But we are safe for a decade or two, and as long as notional parks policy remains as it is, the dales will remain open and largely empty for visitors to enjoy. That is what their rugged landscapes, and their rich and varied limestone flora, demand I said flora because it is hard to imagine much unusual fauna settling here. The RAF uses this dale for practice runs with its fighter-interceptors, travelling at 500 miles an hour and 200 feet. It is not the environment to which the golden eagle, which gave its name to Arncliffe, is ever likely to return. Pergrines, yes; they nest on a rock face down the dale. Most other species are scared off. So, sometimes are the sheep, and so am I.

The deepest cause for regret is that the dale has become self-conscious. Publicity officers are springing up in every town and district and holiday cottage rental — I almost said racket — is enjoying a boom. The ironmonger

is giving way to the antique shop and the draper to the boutique. Grassington is crowded out with coach-loads and in Kettlewell, one main centre of the caving for which the area is famous and occasionally notorious, all the houses are full in summer and more than half empty in winter.

One should not overlook, though, the pleasures of winter up here. June, when it is fine, is probably incomparable anywhere in England. High summer is still fresh and the serious walker can enjoy fine tracts of open country. But it is busy, even in a tiny place like this, if you keep a post office and shop and have to ration out the time to visiting friends from far away. The glorious silence which descends from October to March, with snow on the tops for a lot of the time and in the dale itself for several weeks, is the time to enjoy.

With scarcely an outside light to distract from it the Milky Way in its myriad stars is what it has been since man began to marvel at it. The boutique owners have gone to the south of France, the Craven Herald is full of pantomimes and performances of the Messiah. The cattle are inside. The farmers repair gaps in their walls and take sheep fodder up the fells. But there isn't all that much daylight, and the pub has a longer dominoes night. For those with the liberty it is time to light the fire, and when the snow has been shovelled away in the morning you never know, you may have a bit of peace.

Olga writes to the papers

By Martin Walker in Moscow

raincoat, bought quite openly at a Moscow department store, and was delighted with its chic cut and style. Then she sent it to be cleaned. Disaster. It needed a special dry-cleaning process, and the Moscow dry cleaners had none of the required chemicals.

This time she wrote to Rabochnitsa, a magazine which translates as Working Woman. "It is ridiculous," she began, "that our ministry of foreign trade should pay the Finne for clothes we cannot clean. Either we should not buy them at all, or we should buy the chemicals to clean them at the same time."

This time she received a duplicated letter, which had obviously been sent out to hundreds of other complainants, from the Moscow trade department which had been responsible for selling the coats. It was apologetic in tone, and said that arrangements had been made with the ministry of foreign trade to buy not only Finnish dry-

cleaning chemicals, but also some Finnish dry-cleaning machines that would solve the problem of the disappointed purchasers.

This, Olga dismissed as a *skoro budii* brush-off. *Skoro budii* means "it will happen soon," and is the Russian equivalent of *monymay*. She was right. A year later, she still cannot get her coat cleaned.

But her faith in the letters system is unshaken, and her next one was a humdinger.

"We can buy German-made coats of our good Russian fur in our shops for 12,000 rubles. It takes me over five years to earn that much money and I cannot afford it, but it is good that people who can afford it should be able to make such a purchase. But if our trading department is imaginative enough to provide such luxuries, why cannot they provide any of our shops with a decent Soviet-made deodorant selling for two rubles, which is what woman really need."

gant and resists constructive criticism.

The letters department of Moskovskaya Pravda, for example, used to receive about 150 letters a day. This time last year, the figure was up to 300, and now it approaches 500 a day. They have to take on part-time worker-correspondents to help cope with the flood.

Reporters at other newspapers say it is happening there too, and the letters department of the central committee has also noted a sharper rise in its volume of mail from the public. Pravda wearily reported recently that not a day went past without its office in Alma-Ata getting written complaints about corruption, bad food supplies and the like.

At one level, this means more disappointments for Olga and her fellow letter-writers, and, perhaps, the disillusion of their faith that the system can be responsive. At another level, and more ominous, we are seeing the first signs of the official backlash against the Gorbachev reforms. Incidentally, not one of Olga's letters was ever printed.

Continued from page 17

The Reality Of The New Nicaraguans

said the Rev. Uriel Reyes, spokesman for the Menagua archdiocese. But after urging parents in May 1985 to keep an eye on their children's education, Christian School Parents Association head Sofonias Cisneros was dragged from his office by young turbas, beaten and stripped naked to walk home.

Now each school has semi-resident inspectors who visit classes and make sure the Sandinista curriculum is followed. Reyes said, although Catholic schools may offer two hours a week of religious instruction outside of regular classes.

Sandinista Youth director Hurtado said there is no retrogression in the New Nicaraguans who like baseball and wear jeans to the disco. "We can't have extraterrestrial beings, but people of flesh and blood who love and out and play," he said. "We are idealistic, but we have a long way to go yet. . . . The New Man is a goal we will not achieve in seven years nor in seven years more, but over a lifetime."

© 1986 The Washington Post Co. All rights reserved.

Orchids in the wild

By Ralph Whitlock

WHEN in my teens I developed an absorbing interest in natural history I subjected the fields and woods, streams and downs, around my home, to intensive exploration, learning the names of the birds, insects, and flowers that shared this enchanting world with me and noting just where they were to be found.

In those days, when half of England was derelict, I could have led you to the nests of stone curlews and curlew huns or to where, on sunny summer afternoons, marbled white and chalkhill blue butterflies rose in clouds from the downland herbage. Nearby were colonies of carline thistles, nestling among the harebells, and those tiny downland flowers rejoicing in the imaginative names of eyebright, aquilegionwort, fairy flex and lady's finger, while a mile or two distant, in a dense wood which hid the ruins of a medieval priory, lived a persistent group of specimens of the very rare herb Poria.

One of my treasured discoveries, kept secret from most of my contemporaries, was a small colony of bee orchids. In late June or early July, I could be certain of finding just two or three of them in this one spot. I admired the form and beauty of this lovely little flower, so reminiscent of a fat brown bee extracting nectar from a pink crucifera blossom, but of course, the excitement lay chiefly in discovering such a rarity. Alas, no one will ever again see that colony, for many years ago the plough claimed its site, which now grows wheat instead of orchids.

Returning to my native haunts earlier this year, I unexpectedly renewed my interest in orchids. My morning woodland walks took me along a path where in May I spotted the unfolding leaves of the not uncommon twyblada orchid. Experience has taught me that orchids apparently thrive in each other's company; when we find one species it is worth looking round for another. In this instance, it wasn't long before I found butterfly orchids, both greater and lesser. I was hooked on orchid-hunting again.

It may seem a strange pursuit in temperate England. In popular esteem orchids are exotic flowers, commanding exotic prices in the best florists. We can cultivate them in heated greenhouses or ovens in warm, airy rooms, but the cheapest plants cost from £10 upwards, and to see them in their natural surroundings we need to visit a tropical rain-forest or its simulation in a humid glasshouse in a botanical garden. If we think that way, it may come as a surprise that about fifty different kinds of orchid flourish wild in the British Isles. Some of the handsomest are quite common, but most are rare, their scarcity giving

an added zest to orchid-hunting. Orchids take such a long time to become established that the destruction of their habitats by plough or some other agency is tragic. The twyblada orchid plant is fifteen years or so old before it sends up its first flower stalk; the burnt orchid is almost as old before it produces its first leaves. An enterprising friend once sprinkled some seeds of the bee orchid in a suitable spot, and the first flowers appeared seven years later.

The seeds of orchids are so tiny that they have little space for food reserves. Instead of relying on such reserves the seedling orchid draws its nourishment from certain fungi which grow partly inside and partly outside the orchid roots. This fungi extract nutrients from decaying vegetable matter in the soil, and the orchid roots requisition a share of them.

A rather extreme case is that of the birds-nest orchid, of which I have found several small colonies this summer. The roots, from which it derives its name, are like a ball of worms that I have sometimes seen fishermen use for catching eels. They extract nourishment, through their associated fungus, from the humus formed by rotting leaves under shady trees. The plant never manufactures any chlorophyll, and so the flower stalk and flowers themselves are entirely brown. Not particularly beautiful but a great find.

The British orchids are widely distributed and are found in almost every type of habitat. Some live in the shade of deep woods, even a few in the pinewoods of Scotland; some are found in bogs and marshes; some on sandy heaths. Most, however, prefer chalk and limestone soils; the best places to look for orchids in general being (a) chalk downs and (b) beechwoods on chalk or limestone.

Success apparently breeds success in orchid-hunting. Having duly recorded solitary butterfly and birds-nest orchids I suddenly came across assemblages of them — butterfly orchids by the score.

Then I remembered a hillside where I used to find orchids fifty years ago. It was too steep for ploughing, so perhaps the orchids still survived. I made the pilgrimage and was rewarded by the sight of an acre or so of chalk downland studded almost as thickly with orchids as a meadow with buttercups. Hundreds of them. Most were the erect and beautifully-scented fragrant orchids but there was also a good sprinkling of spotted orchids and pyramidal orchids.

And then, most unexpected of all, several colonies of bee orchids. I counted fifteen flower-spikes and went home vastly content. Despite plough, sprays, people and all the other hazards of the 1980s, orchids still manage to flourish in England.

DIRECTOR, NEPAL ActionAid

ActionAid, an international rural development agency with programmes in nine countries in Africa and Asia, is seeking a Director for its programme in Nepal. Concentrated in 7 panchayats N.E. of Kathmandu, ActionAid is working with local communities in a comprehensive integrated development programme aimed at alleviating poverty within the area.

Although responsible for the overall management and direction of the programme, the Director's specific responsibilities will include liaison and negotiation with the government of Nepal, staff recruitment, planning and budgeting, organising base-line surveys and identifying new programme areas.

The successful applicant will ideally have a minimum of 5 years management experience in community development programmes, preferably in Asia, and proven ability in conducting sensitive negotiations at the highest government level. Good leadership and interpersonal communication skills and, if not yet a Nepali speaker, a willingness to learn Nepali is essential.

The contract will be for 2 years renewable. Please submit written applications with detailed C.V. by 26.9.86 to Shirley Mansfield at ActionAid, Hamlyn House, Archway, London N19 5PS. Interviews will take place in London in early October.

A spiritual tug of war

THEATRE by Michael Billington

I EMERGED from Andrzej Wajda's production of Crime and Punishment (which leached the Edinburgh Festival's admirable World Theatre season) with aching bottom and exhilarated spirit. Nearly three hours on the wooden benches of St Bride's Centre in Orwell Terrace is tough going, but the acting in this Story Theatre of Krakow production is so magnificent you forget the mortification of the flesh.

Wajda's much-travelled production (which last week had its 160th performance) is diametrically different to Lyubimov's famous version of Dostoevsky's great thriller. Lyubimov tried to encompass the whole story; Wajda focuses on the cat and mouse confrontations of the killer Raskolnikov and the megistrets Porfiry.

Lyubimov worked through recurring Expressionist images: Wajda's style is closer to what

John Jones calls the "apocalyptic naturalism" of the novel. Lyubimov's moral purpose was to show "that evil cannot be called good." Wajda's version is more compassionate to the would-be Napoleonic murderer and highlights the strange spiritual kinship between him and his convulsive interrogator.

The first thing to hit you is the mouldering detail of Krystyna Zachwatowicz's design — a precise evocation of the novel's "stinking Petersburg".

The audience of 100 is separated from the actors by a wooden rail. Behind that are crumbling, glass-panelled frames, claustrophobic rooms, rusting armchairs, chipped lamps, even glasses with that peculiar yellow liquid issuing from the city's noxious water supply. Dostoevsky absented himself from the city in 1886 when writing the book to avoid "false inspiration."

He created from the imagination

The best in town

I HAD almost forgotten musicals could be witty. Today too many of them are weighed down by hi-tech sets and an inflated sense of their own importance when they are really like very bad 19th century operas. But Wonder Town, which sails into the Queen's from the Palace, Watford, is a spirit-lifting joy from 1963 that is about real people rather than a display of light engineering and that both vocally and musically is in tune with ironic humour. It is much the best musical in London.

Part of its secret is that it is based on a cooperative alliance of first rate talents. Joseph Fields and Jerome Chodorov adapted the book from their play, My Sister Eileen, about two Ohio sisters who besieged New York from their Greenwich Village basement. (The show is set in 1936 when Christopher Street was still a heterogeneous community).

Betty Comden and Adolph Green provide lyrics that advance plot and define character while retaining their crispness. Pass The Football harpoons beautifully the way athletic prowess leads to collegiate stardom while leaving its own extended in afterlife. And Leonard Bernstein's score straddles popular jazz, romantic lament, a conga, and with its wry dissonance and sudden tempo changes, anticipates West Side Story.

But it is the bright Manhattan wit that is the show's most distinctive quality. It plays lightly over almost all the numbers. Conversa-

tion Piece is a classic account of a strangled dinner party where Ruth, the blue stock heroine, weighs in vivaciously with remarks like "I was re-reading Moby Dick the other day," and Darling Eileen, set in a New York Precinct House, is an Irish jig for sundry cops who steadfastly refuse to believe that a girl with that name isn't from the old country.

But the evening's highlight is the first act climax where Ruth bravely tries to interview a posse of Brazilian matelots about major issues while they want nothing more than to conga: at this point, the production could use a few more bodies but the number both releases Ruth's inhibitions and fills the stage with Latin American rhythms.

It's a touch too hard to accept Maureen Lipman as a sex-starved wallflower but her Ruth has the slight titchiness of the aspiring writer and overlooked actor while her comic timing is impeccable: not least when she acts out her sub-Hemingway safari story while a magazine editor tries to read it. Emily Morgan as sister Eileen is all corn-haired country girl urgency and there is good support from Nicolas Colicos (whom I last saw in a Canadian Roberto) as a marooned athletic hulk, and from Roy Lommen as the love-struck editor.

Martin Connor's production also captures both the urban wit and the ironic lyricism of a musical that is the best the town has seen since the National's revival of Guys and Dolls.

Goo inside the apple pie

JOHN HUGHES wrote and directed The Breakfast Club, the best and most intelligent teen movie of last year. He's now written but not directed Pretty In Pink, which is the most successful of the genre so far this year. If it is also the best, however, we've just about reached the nadir.

The intelligence that has gone into it is mostly a matter of cosmetics. The film looks like nothing so much as a very shrewd compendium of what the market requires. Pretty In Pink is a teenage version of those wrong side of the tracks romances of some 30 years ago, impeccably dressed in mid-eighties clobber.

The girl (Molly Ringwald) lives with her father (Harry Dean Stanton) in a simple bungalow on the potter side of town, mother having deserted. But she's bright and goes

to a good school, expecting a scholarship to college. She's also pretty even when she's not in pink — though her habit of keeping her mouth half open when not speaking would seem likely to attract as many flies as men.

The boy who loves her most is fellow Zoid Duckie (Jon Cryer) who talks smart but acts dumb. The one who lusts after her most is Steff (James Spader) who is handsome, rich, and totally unused to a girl saying no. But she fancies Blane (Andrew McCarthy) who ayes her like a yuppie puppy on heat. But he's a gent and doesn't do anything.

Steff knows one thing. If he can't have "the slag", Blane won't. So he mocks away merrily causing Blane pain as the "Richies" reject the Zoid. Back home, Harry Dean, of

a St Petersburg of dirt, heat, bile, and decay; which is what you see on stage with the addition of a glass case containing the murdered moneylender's effects like exhibits in a murder trial.

But the fascination of this production lies in the emotional interdependence of the twin protagonists. Jerzy Radziwillov (who played the lead in Wajda's Mmm Of Iron and Mmm Of Marble) is a brilliant Raskolnikov. He conveys the point, even to non-Polish speakers, that the character's punishment lies in his mental torment. He looks exactly right from the rimless specs and unruly hair down to the thick-soled squeaking boots with their white string laces.

He also communicates the murderer's hunger for spiritual redemption. When he visits the prostitute Sonia his hand quivers over her bible like some vat daw ha beats his temples with it as if trying to din the Lazarus story into his brain. This Raskolnikov's torment lies within; and when he confesses his crime his body is filled with exhausted relief.

But the Portly of Jerzy Stubr (another famous Polish film actor) is equally remarkable. What he gets across is the man's double nature. On the one hand, he is the obsessive sleuth, always watching, listening, smoking and neatly cutting out Raskolnikov's article on crime before putting it in the exhibit case.

But there is something dangerous about him which suggests that to drop a murderer one has first to understand him. Stubr periodically onsets a choking, snarling lough in which his bull-frog eyes bulge from their sockets, and when he accuses Raskolnikov of delirium his own ludy shrieks and judders as if he too is possessed by a demon. I called the interrogation a cat and mouse game; but the revelation of this production is that you cannot always tell which is the cat and which the mouse.

Wajda's production is not the whole hunk: what it gives us is a breathtaking spiritual contest played out in peeling rooms. It also has a compelling moral neutrality suggesting that the dividing line between the unguttrite who brutally kicks a prisoner who filitely confesses and the murderer who craves divine forgiveness is dangerously thin. It is less physically dynamic than Lyubimov's production but equally enthralling; and, like that, it proves the key to adoption flow in expressing a particular vision of a novel rather than in simply imitating its incidents.

CINEMA by Derek Malcolm

the extremely well lived-in face and the emblematic taciturnity that encourages cults, tells her: "You like him. He likes you. Take the heat. It's worth it." Thus are life's grittier problems balled down into movie philosophy. And we ask the inevitable question — who's going to take her to the Senior Prom?

Hughes and Howard Deutch, the director, embroider this passion fruit-tale with every icon of the under-21 set they can muster, from spots to in-phrases, rave-in music to pop suitings. They're really on the ball. But crisp as the crust is the inside of the pie remains go. obstinately like Junk-food. Pretty In Pink is manipulative dream fodder par excellence, and about as much like real life as Colba, though without the realistic blood.

NO COMPOSER pursues his individual visions so relentlessly as Harrison Birtwistle. His three operas — defying conventional rules, standing firm on laws of their own — may each have you initially reeling, but the power of the rugged stage manners refuses to be ignored and has a way of catching up with you not just at the time but in hours and days following.

What he presents are elemental experiences. Yan Tan Tethera, now given its first staging by David Freeman's Opera Factory as part of SummerScope, like its predecessors, Punch and Judy and the Mask of Orpheus, is a slow-moving obsessive ritual. Its 90-minute span in one act may stretch concentration to the limit, maddening you with its stylised repetitions, but like its predecessor it makes its point as tellingly as a Greek drama.

Where Punch based its rituals on nursery story and rhyme, and Orpheus developed a world of associations from Greek myth, telling and retelling, Yan Tan Tethera roots itself in a Wiltshire folk tale. It is a simple story of two shepherds, Alan from the North who against the odds prospers, and Caleb on home ground resenting the intruder, calling in aid the Devil (seen as an elusive piper or the Bad 'Un). Alan is spirited away along with his twins. His wife Harnesh resists Caleb's advances, finally wins the return of Alan and her children along with two urchins whom Caleb had tried to palm off on her.

Birtwistle's librettist, Tony Har-



Omar Ebrahim as Alan.

A new challenge by Birtwistle

OPERA by Edward Greenfield

three, often rock-like, vocal lines above it.

Though by a fluke of production Yan Tan Tethera follows so closely on the heels of the Mask of Orpheus at the English National Opera, its concept and completion is much more recent. On the face of it, Birtwistle has softened his idiom a degree further. There are moments of simple, Britten-like poetry — as when the call of the Piper is heard or the false urchins gambol about, einging in piping treble "we will be seven tomorrow"

you to sleep. Though he strains just, Birtwistle never begins to do that and the wonder of the steady flow over so much of the 90 minutes is that it intensifies all the more the rare passages of action.

Though the pace is slow, there are few moments of total stillness. My first reaction was to wish there were more, when the orchestra (wind quintet, horn, string septet, harp and percussion) keeps a gently jangling commentary that relates disconcertingly little to the

three, often rock-like, vocal lines above it.

Though by a fluke of production Yan Tan Tethera follows so closely on the heels of the Mask of Orpheus at the English National Opera, its concept and completion is much more recent. On the face of it, Birtwistle has softened his idiom a degree further. There are moments of simple, Britten-like poetry — as when the call of the Piper is heard or the false urchins gambol about, einging in piping treble "we will be seven tomorrow"

All the same, it works

By Edward Greenfield

THE SCENE is the beach at Cosi-on-Sea with Don Alfonso making sand-castles among the potted palms. As the overture finishes, a gaggle of young swimmers comes rushing in, scattering any late-comers. From then on David Freeman's production for Opera Factory of Mozart's sublimely farcical comedy does its updating with sharp and often very funny ingenuity, until with a sting in the tail it sets an uncomfortable question-mark over the pair of the lovers: these are real people waking up.

It would take a curmudgeon to object to such treatment for Cosi fan tutte. Freeman rejects the charge that it is a "highly artificial" piece but rather a disguise opera. So characters — in the freedom and fun of the beach — are given "the chance to become somebody else." With a racy new translation by Anne Ridley he actually clarifies motivation, making the impossible switches and non-recognitions of De Ponte's plot more, not less, probable when set in 1886.

So Fiordiligi is a chaosmoker,

looking intense behind the heavy glasses she keeps putting on, contrasting with her easier-going sister Despina, less a servant than an au pair, instructs her mistress after putting on a fright wig and a see-through skirt, and makes her official disguises far more convincing than usual, first as a frump of a woman doctor administering electro-therapy later as a seedy old lawyer.

As for the men, they have their call-up for paratroop service, and promptly return as wealthy Arabs, almost unrecognisable behind beards, head-dresses and dark glasses. Freeman has fun in Act 1, leaving the two pairs as they were before the departure, with Ferrando still partnering Dorabella and Guglielmo with Fiordiligi.

Musically it works well too. This is the first of the new South Bank Board's attempts to exploit the Queen Elizabeth Hall for opera as music-theatre, and is encouraging. The players of the London Sinfonietta, crisply directed by Paul Daniel, sit down the right-hand strip of the bare full-width stage. That may bring an awkward balance in some parts of the hall, but was excellent where I was, with modest strings balancing the wind well enough, but allowing voices of less than Covent Garden grandeur to shine through.

Marie Angel as Fiordiligi with her pained over-responsibility provided a central focus. After sitting under the note too much at the start, she brought the necessary command to "Come scoglio" (strong as granite) and even more to "Per pietà." Bright, clear projection equally marked the singing both of the impetuous Dorabella of Christine Botes and the provocative Despina of Janis Kelly.

Nigel Robson, strained by the high tessitura of Ferrando's two big arias, sang otherwise with impeccable sweetness, and provided in his maturity a pointed contrast with the gangling young Guglielmo of Geoffrey Dutton, fresh and light of voice.

Senior Field Officer Mozambique

CUSO, Canada's largest non-government organization involved in international development, is seeking a person of exceptional maturity to serve as the Senior Field Staff Officer in Mozambique. Candidates should have a strong grasp of development issues in Southern Africa and proven skills in development programming, involving both technical assistance and project funding. Fluency in English and Portuguese is essential.

SALARY:

Canadian \$31,217 per annum plus a good fringe benefits package.

STARTING DATE IN THE FIELD:

October 1986.

Interested applicants should submit a current résumé, the names and addresses of three referees, and a statement of their own ideas on development issues in Mozambique. This should include information on how they see themselves contributing to development work in the position in light of their own experience. Applications should be forwarded to: CUSO Personnel Services, 136 Rideau Street, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada, K1N 9K7 (Tel. (613) 663-1242 ext. 211 or Telax 063-4706) by September 19, 1986.

CUSO

SOMETHING TO WRITE HOME ABOUT. THE TEARCRAFT MAIL ORDER GIFT SERVICE

Send gifts home to the UK by mail without international postage, but with your own personal message.

THIRD WORLD CRAFTS Send for our full colour catalogue and you'll be delighted by our range of craft products and other gift items, many of them handmade by craftworkers in small scale producer groups in the Third World.

PERSONALISED GIFTS With each catalogue comes a FREE packet of gift tags. You simply decide what you want to send and to whom. (We can only send to people resident in the British Isles). Fill in the order form, write your personalised message on the gift tags and send them to us with payment.

SAVE ON INTERNATIONAL POSTAGE Back in Britain, we'll wrap your presents, attach your gift tag and send them to the people you have specified.

YEAR ROUND SERVICE TEARCRAFT is launching this scheme for Christmas '86, but the service will be available all year round for birthdays and anniversaries.

AIO AND DEVELOPMENT TEARCRAFT is the trading arm of TEAR FUND, a Christian-based aid and development agency working around the world with fellow Christians to provide physical and spiritual help to people in need.

TEAR FUND supports producer groups among the poorest of communities around the world, giving them the opportunity for gainful employment and a market abroad.

TEAR FUND also commissions its own products for giftful employment and a market abroad.

TEAR FUND also commissions its own products for giftful employment and a market abroad.

TEAR FUND also commissions its own products for giftful employment and a market abroad.

TEAR FUND also commissions its own products for giftful employment and a market abroad.

TEAR FUND also commissions its own products for giftful employment and a market abroad.

TEAR FUND also commissions its own products for giftful employment and a market abroad.

TEAR FUND also commissions its own products for giftful employment and a market abroad.

TEAR FUND also commissions its own products for giftful employment and a market abroad.

TEAR FUND also commissions its own products for giftful employment and a market abroad.

— but the flavour remains totally individual. On the new full width stage at Queen Elizabeth Hall there is no room for the orchestra except at the back behind a gauze. Though that detaches singers from players more completely, it does at least have the advantage of making words clearer, with the main conductor, Elgar Howarth, assisted from a front stage prompt box by Charles Peebles.

Io David Roger's designs the stage is set about with standing stones. Impersonating in turn the black-faced southern sheep and the white-faced northerners, the chorus members wear realistic masks by Arianna Gastambide, reinforcing the unexpected by poignant parallel with a Greek chorus.

The cast of principles is brilliantly led by Omar Ebrahim as Alan, bearded with a ruggedly northern accent regularly adopting a folk singer's for horn delivery. Where Birtwistle asks for a light, baritone as Alan and a dark one as Caleb, this production has it the other way round, with Richard Stuart rather too refined to sound villainous. It is a pity too that for all the virtuosity of her singing, Helen Charnock as Hannah produces shrill and fluttery tones, particularly when much of her music relates back to the beauty of Orpheus and bears more emotional weight than the rest. Under Howarth, the London Sinfonietta plays with concentrated commitment. This is a piece which, haunting the mind, challenges you to fresh listening as keenly as its predecessors.

OVER 500 GIFT IDEAS

Send now for your FREE Tearcraft catalogue and gift tags to: TEARCRAFT, 100 Church Road, Teddington, Middlesex TW11 8QE.

TEARCRAFT Catalogue 1986/87

I am interested in the Tearcraft Mail Order Gift Service. Please send me, free of charge, the Tearcraft Catalogue and a set of gift tags.

Name _____

Address _____

Country _____



1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 26